A Critical Tantrism

By Shinichi Tsuda

I. General Remarks: The 'Critical' Character of Tantric Buddhism

i. Buddhist Tantrism on the Ridge

In trying to get a total image of the history of the Tantric thought of Buddhism in India, it is first necessary for us to observe the diametrically opposed characters of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*(1) (大日經) and the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*(2) (金剛頂經) i. e. the two greatest scriptures of the *Shingon*-sect (眞言宗) of Japan. These two scriptures include two opposite ideas or logics; one the Mahāyānic idea of the accumulation of two kinds of merits, *viz.* moral and intellectual (福智二資糧), or the logic of action and its result (*karman* 業), the other the Tantric idea of the essential union of the individual existence with the ultimate reality, or the logic of yogic practice.

I would like to depict the point of contact of these two scriptures metaphorically as the sharp ridge of a mountain upon which one cannot find an inch of flat place upon which to balance onself. Ascending to the uppermost part of the slope of Mahāyāna Buddhism, that is, the first chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, we find ourselves facing the dizzy precipice of Tantrism which starts from the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* at the opposite side of knife-edged ridge.

The theoretical part of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* i. e. the first chapter, may well be regarded as the summit of Mahāyāna Buddhism due to its magnificent and harmonious image of the world, its deep insight into the

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(1) Tibetan version: *rNam par snaṅ mdsad chen po mṅon par rdsogs par byaṅ chub pa rnam par sprul ba byin gyis rlob pa śin tu rgyas pa mdo sdeḥi dbaṅ po rgyal po shes bya baḥi chos kyi rnam graṅs. Peking* (*The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, edit. by D. T. Suzuki, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1955–1961). No. 126, Vol. 5. Chinese version: 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經. *Taisho*, No. 848, Vol. 18.

(2) Sanskrit text: *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha-tantra*. edit. by Kanjin Horiuchi, *Journal of Koyasan University* (*Koyasan-Daigaku-Ronso*, abbrev. *JKU*), Vol. III, 1968, *Mikkyo-Bunka*. No. 90 (1969), No. 91 (1970), *JKU*, Vol. VI, 1971, *Mikkyo-Bunka*, Nos. 97, 98 (1971), *JKU*, Vol. VIII, 1973, *Mikkyo-Bunka*, Nos. 103, 104 (1973) and *Bon-Zō-Kan-Taishō Shoe-Kongōchōgyō-no-Kenkyū*, Koyasan, 1974. Tibetan version: *De bshin gśegs pa thams cad kyi de kho na ñid bsdus pa she bya ba theg pa chen poḥi mdo. Peking*. No. 112, Vol. 4. Chinese version: 佛說一切如來眞實攝大乘現證三昧大教王經 (30 vols.). *Taisho*. No. 882 (cf. Nos. 865, 866).

reality of human life and its noble, lofty ideal of life reassuringly advocated on the basis of this insight into the structure of the world and human nature.

The theoretical framework of this *sūtra*, however, did not necessiate any Tantric practices. There is a critical, unbridgeable gap between the Mahāyānic theoretical part of this scripture i.e. the first chapter, namely, the chapter of the progressing stages of the human mind (住心品) and the practical Tantric part i. e. all the following chapters.

At the time when Buddhism was declining at an accelerated pace, the religious ideal of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, which in its essential part rests on the plane of Mahāyāna Buddhism having as its goal the remote attainment of enlightenment through the accumulation of the two kinds of necessary merits over the unimaginably long period of the three great uncountable aeons (三大阿僧祇劫), had come to be regarded as too remote and too sluggish for the people of the time. Such people, being urged by vague but impending feeling of the crisis of their own civilization, were looking impatiently for a method and theory of quick attainment of enlightenment (卽身成佛). In order to discover the logic of quick attainment of enlightenment, it was necessary for them to cross over to the slope of Tantrism by overcoming the Mahāyānic aspect of the theoretical system of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*.

Conversely, in the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*, the rationalistic wall of Mahāyāna Buddhism having been overcome, "the truth of all the *tathāgatas*", or the secret of the universe, was revealed to all people, and the method of quick attainment of enlightenment, as far as the Tantric mode of thinking goes, was presented to them in completeness. However, this was made possible only by destroying the Mahāyānic framework of the theory and discarding the lofty ideal of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*.

On the slope of Tantrism, one is necessarily a solitary *yogin* confronting the ultimate reality by himself. For him the outer world or the existence of others is of no meaning. For him capabilities, ethical or religious efforts and even the friendliness and mercy toward others (慈悲), the essential virtue of Mahāyāna Buddhism, are not necessary.

Such logical extremism, however, causes a basic feeling of uncertainty as to the efficacy of the very logic of *yoga* in those who are still not free from the Mahāyāna Buddhistic consciousness, not allowing them to rest easily on the plane of Tantrism.

We may safely say that the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, essentially being Mahāyānic, was not yet complete as a system of Tantrism, and that the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* as a completed Tantric system ceased to be Mahāyānic.

ii. Kūkai, the Herald of the 'Critical' or Precarious Character of the Tantric Buddhism

In the Japanese world of the *Shingon* sect (眞言宗), it has been assumed

traditionally that these two systems, *viz.* the system of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* and that of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*, together constituting the authentic esoteric Buddhism (純粋密教) are not different in their ability to bring about enlightenment quickly, and that they bring people to one and the same truth. In reality, however, the Mahāyānic logic of accumulating merits found in the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* and the mystical, Upaniṣadic logic of *yoga* advocated in the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* are completley antithetical and can not be synthesized. In my opinion, the only figure who has noticed the 'critical' or precarious character of Tantric Buddhism is Kūkai (空海), posthumously named *Kōbō-daishi* (弘法大師, the great master Kōbō 774–835 A.D.), the founder of the Japanese sect of *Shingon Buddhism* (眞言宗).

In the concluding part of the *Un-ji-gi* (『吽字義』, "The Meaning of the Character *Hūṁ*"), the last work of his life, Kūkai states:

> "Moreover, I will explain the fact that this single character (*Hūṁ*) includes all the truths (理) expounded in all the scriptures and treatises. Whatsoever is expounded in the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* is nothing more than 'the three phrases' (三句); *viz.* '(of *sarvajñajñāna*, *viz.* the omniscience 一切智智) the human mind seeking for enlightenment (*bodhicitta* 菩提心) is the cause; the great compassion (*mahākaruṇā* 大悲) (of Vairocana Tathāgata) is the root; and (employing) practical means (*upāya* 方便) (to save all the living beings of the world) is the final aim (*paryavasāna* 究竟)'.
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> If we summarize the diffusive to the concise, and the derivative to the original, all the doctrines can be brought back to these three phrases; and these three phrases can be condensed to the single character *Hūṁ*. Even if (these doctrines are) diffused, (they are) not confused; even if (they are) condensed, none of them is left behind. This is possible because of the unthinkable talent of the *tathāgatas* and the natural efficacy of the truth itself. (Truths expounded) in tens of thousands of scriptures and treatises do not go beyond these three phrases".(3)

As will be explained later, 'the three phrases' thoroughly represent the idea of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, but not that of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*; and it goes without saying that Kūkai was well aware of this fact. I am convinced that Kūkai clearly noticing that the ridge composed by the two slopes of these 'two great scriptures' was too sharp for one to balance onself upon, kept himself consciously on the side of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*. He must have intentionally mentioned both the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*

(3) 次明以此一字通攝諸經論等所明理者，且大日經及金剛頂經所明皆不過此菩提爲因大悲爲根方便爲究竟之三句，若攝廣就略攝末歸本，則一切教義不過此三句，束此三句以爲一吽字，廣而不亂略而不漏此則如來不思議力法然加持之所爲也，雖千經萬論亦不出此三句一字. *Ju-kkan-jō* (『十巻章』). Koyasan University, 1959, p. 70.

and the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* to remind us that the ideal of 'the three phrases' is to be retained by one who, keeping himself on the humane slope of Mahāyāna Buddhism, can command a view of the tempting, but dangerous slope of Tantrism yet to be synthesized with Mahāyāna Buddhism. I imagine, it must have been an unfinished dream of Kūkai to establish an ideal Tantric Buddhism precisely on the soaring ridge of the two greatest scriptures by harmonizing the noble humanism of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* with the dazzlingly miraculous secret of the quick attainment of enlightenment advocated within the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*.

iii. Tantrism Subsequent to the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*

In the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*, the secret of the quick attainment of enlightenment was actually revealed. There, the Mahāyānic ideal of strenuous effort (難行), the idea of the accumulation of the two kinds of merits (二資糧の積集) over the long period of the three great uncountable aeons (三大阿僧祇劫) proposed by the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* was surpassed, and the Tantric ideal of the quick attainment of enlightenment through the easy practice (易行) of *yoga* was declared on the basis of a clear methodical consciousness.

The antithetical character of the two scriptures requires their followers to assume the two contrastive attitudes. A Mahāyānic practiser of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* is essentially a pilgrim who, following the example of Sudhanaśreṣṭhidāraka (善財童子) of the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* (華厳經入法界品), being urged by the compassion to others, courses in the world for the sake of realizing the lofty ideal of saving all living beings. Conversely, the practiser of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* is a meditator who sits solitarily without taking any interest in others.

This character of the two is reflected also in the contrastive forms of their *maṇḍalas*. The *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* can be represented in concentric circles, the centre of which is the brightest; each successive circle becoming darker. On the contrary, the *maṇḍala* of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* is a plain white circle, in clear contrast with the outer darkness, containing no difference of brightness within.

After the Tantirc logic of *yoga* was proclaimed in the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*, followers of all systems of Tantric Buddhism should have become sitting meditators, the *maṇḍala* of those systems being of same type as that of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*. As the universal formula of attaining enlightenment, together with an example and its mode of operation were presented in the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*, the practicers should have been able to attain enlightenment merely by applying the formula exactly as it was applied in the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* itself. Then, did they actually attain enlightenment? To this question, the general image of Tantric Buddhism of the stage subsequent to the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* offers a negative answer.

The formula itself found within the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* must have been right; but it left too many elements yet to be clarified when one trys to apply it practically. In the time of *tantras* subsequent to the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*, such as the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*(4) and the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga-ḍākinīmāyāsaṁvara-tantra*,(5) many attempts were made unsuccessfully to solve problems by applying the formula. The formula was presented in the last step of the so-called five-stepped process of attaining enlightenment (*pañcākārābhisaṁbodhi-krama* 五相成身觀) as follows:

"*Yathā sarvatathāgatās tathāhaṁ*"(6)
(As all the *tathāgatas* are, so am I.)

This was interpreted by the tantrists of the time as follows:
'If the individual existence and the ultimate reality are homologous, they are identical.'

or,

'If the individual existence successfully reorganizes itself to be homologous with the ultimate reality, the former can unite itself with the latter.'

According to this interpretation, some tried to pick up the elements common to both the individual existence and the ultimate reality, from the multiform structures of both, so as to reconstruct the structure of the former homologous with that of the latter. Others combined the homogeneity of the two as a new condition which was hoped to increase the certainty of the efficacy of the formula. These efforts, however, drove them ironically into a pitfall i. e. the idea of the so-called *Sahaja-yāna* (倶生乘) which claims that we are by birth (*sahaja* 倶生) enlightened. Here, they no longer needed Tantric practice to reconstruct themselves in a form homologous with the ultimate reality, since they were already endowed with the structural similarity, and consequently were already in unity with it.

As far as the Tantric logic of *yoga* is concerned, it is difficult to reject this idea of *sahaja*, and at the same time, it is also undeniable that the Tantric mentality of *sahaja* is nothing other than the state which undermines Tantrism itself. Thus, in the system of *sahaja*, the Tantric logic of the quick attainment of enlightenment resulted in denying the Tantric practice of attaining enlightenment.

The lack of religious substantiality within this system of *sahaja* caused

(4) Sanskrit text: *Guhyasamāja Tantra or Tathāgataguhyaka*. *GOS* No. LIII. by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1931; by S. Bagchi, *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts* No. 9. Darbhanga, 1965; *The Guhyasamāja-tantra: A New Critical Edition*, Yūkei Matsunaga, *JKU* Vol. X. Tibetan version: *De bshin gśegs pa thams cad kyi sku gsuṅ thugs kyi gsaṅ chen gsaṅ ba ḥdus pa shes bya ba brtag paḥi rgyal po chen po*. *Peking*. No. 81, Vol. 3.

(5) Tibetan version: *dPal saṅs rgyas thams cad daṅ mñam par sbyor ba mkhaḥ ḥgro ma sgyu ma bde baḥi mchog ces bya baḥi rgyud bla ma*. *Peking*. No. 8, Vol. 1.

(6) Horiuchi's text 28, *JKU*, Vol. III, p. 43.

anxiety in its believers. The anxiety was not overcome before they established a revolutionarily new religion, that is, the religion of the *Hevajra-tantra*(7) on the basis of the seemingly abominable, heretical cult of cemetery (*śmaśāna* 尸林).

iv. The Cult of Cemetery

What I call 'the cult of cemetery' is a diabolical cult of Bhairava, a demonic form of the Great God Śiva, and his consort which was prevalent among the lowest strata of the rural, matriarchal community of the time. It is thought to have been a cult usually performed in a cemetery (*śmaśāna*) by secret societies of lower class women of rural communities who were regarded as or called themselves *yoginīs* or *ḍākinīs*.

These women assembled in a circle (*yoginī-cakra* or *ḍākinī-jāla*) within a cemetery (*śmaśāna*) at midnight on a certain day of the month and celebrated orgies drinking liquor and eating meat. They sacrificed in orgies, even human sacrifice on occasion, to Bhairava for the sake of attaining magical power. They assumed the role of the consort of Bhairava i. e. Durgā, who is referred to by other names such as Kālī, Cāmuṇḍā, Kālarātri, Śyāmā and so on as the occasion demands, and practised sexual yogic practices surrounding the male object of the practice (*yogin or ḍāka*) i. e. the hero (*vīra*), who assumed the role of the lord Bhairava, both experiencing unusual, supreme pleasures.

These women were regarded with great aversion and horror by outsiders because of the abominable aspect of their cult based on all the hideous and repulsive elements of the cemetery. At the same time, however, they were awed and revered because of their marvelous attainment of magical power (*siddhi* 悉地) and their unusual ecstacy which could only be realized in an exclusive society.

In the course of time, their sexual yogic practices were systematized to present a general idea of the physical structure of three veins (*nāḍī*) and six nerve centres (*cakra*) within the body, and accordingly, the certainty and universality of the sexual pleasure which was realized through these practices was increased. It was at this stage that a group of Tantric Buddhists, noticing the mental and physiological certainty of the effect of the sexual yogic practices of these *yoginīs*, adopted this cult of cemetery so as to utilize the concrete basis of the cult in order to attain a solid answer to the anxiety caused by the formula of the quick attainment of enlightenment presented in the *Tattva-saṁgraha-tantra*.

At that time, the male objects (*yogin*) of the sexual practices of these

(7) Sanskrit text: *The Hevajra Tantra. A Critical Study*. Part II. Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts. By D. L. Snellgrove, Oxford, 1959. Tibetan version: *Kyeḥi rdo rje shes bya ba rgyud kyi rgyal po. Peking*. No. 10, Vol. 1.

women, who were fundamentally non-clerical and territorial, were the somewhat more professional and migratory practicers of *yoga*, affiliated with the lower sects of Śaivism such as Kāpālikas or Kālāmukhas.

The Buddhist immigrants to the cult of cemetery tried to take the place of these Śaivaite *yogins* leaving the basic structure of the cult, that is, the group of *yoginīs* (*yoginī-cakra*) untouched. Preserving almost all the elements of Bhairava, the god of *śmaśāna*, adding only trivial elements, they created a new, demonic God Heruka, alias Hevajra, who stands trampling his own father Bhairava under foot assuming almost an identical form.

v. The *Hevajra-tantra*, Buddhism of the Cemetery

Originally, eight *yoginīs* formed a group and practised sexual *yoga* in rotation surrounding a male object (*yogin*). This phenomenon is alluded to by the word *sañcāra* (translocation).(8) To this original group of eight *yoginīs*, Buddhist immigrants introduced, with a clear methodological consciousness, the group of five *yoginīs* to form a new living *maṇḍala*. In the *maṇḍala* of the *Hevajra-tantra*, the original group of eight *yoginīs* was pushed away to the outer circle (*bāhyapuṭa* 外院) of the *maṇḍala* and excluded from the sexual *yoga* with the Lord Hevajra.(9)

In the *Hevajra-tantra*, the five *yoginīs* who compose the newly introduced group are regarded as nothing other than the five families of *tathāgatas* which composed the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* (the *maṇḍala* of the adamantine sphere 金剛界曼荼羅), the ultimate reality of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*. Here, the wild lower caste women of the time, who used to assemble in a cemetery at midnight and indulge themselves in witchcraft and sexual practices in the

(8) For the phenomenon of *sañcāra*, see Shinichi Tsuda, '*Sañcāra*', Transposition of *Yoginīs*, *JIBS*. Vol. XXI, No. 1, 1972, p. 377 f.; S. Tsuda, Lāmā *Yoginī* and her Transposition in the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala*, *JIBS*. Vol. XXIII, No. 2, 1975, p. 992 f.

(9) We find an example which looks, at first sight, contradictory to this in the *apabhraṁśa* verses of the *Hevajra-tantra* (II. v. 20～23.) providing an evidence for the phenomenon of *sañcāra*, the transposition of *yoginīs*. In these four verses, four *yoginīs*, *viz*. Pukkasī, Śavarī, Caṇḍālī and Ḍombī, who are located on the outer circle, alternately ask the Lord, who has 'melted' (*drutabhūta*) in the sexual union with his consort Nairātmyā, to stand up again and practice sexual *yoga* also with them. This is, however, to be taken as an exceptional example reflecting the influence of the original practice of the group of eight *yoginīs*. To this passage, Snellgrove gives following translation:

(20) "Arise, O Lord, thou whose mind is compassion, and save me, Pukkasī. Embrace me in the union of great bliss, and abandon the condition of voidness."

(20) "Without you I die. Arise, O Hevajra. Leave this condition of voidness, and prosper the doings of Śavarī."

(22) "O Lord of Bliss, who speak your words of power for the benefit of the world, why do you remain in the void? I Caṇḍālī entreat you, for without you I cannot consume the four quarters."

(23) "O Wonder-worker, arise, for I know your thought. I, Ḍombī, am weak in mind. Do not interrupt your compassion." Snellgrove, *ibid*. Part I, p. 110 f.

orgie, were reorganized to form a new matrix in which the quick attainment of enlightenment was expected to be realized. Thus, the universal formula which had been advocated ideally in the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* was tentatively realized through sexual practice with the *yoginīs* who actually existed at the time.

vi. The 'Critical' or Precarious Character of *Saṁvara* Tantrism

According to the Tantric way of thinking, the formula of the quick attainment of enlightenment was thus brought into practice successfully by incorporating the practical cogency of the cult of *śmaśāna*. The ultimate truth should have been realized through the sexual *yoga* practised in the group of *yoginīs* (*yoginī-cakra*); there should have been nothing left to be done. Nevertheless, they dared go beyond it.

These Tantrists of *śmaśāna* were still at least half Buddhist; and this self-consciousness of Mahāyānic Buddhists prevented them from staying exclusively on the slope of Tantrism. To the truth practically realized, they added, according to their own original system of consecration (*abhiṣeka* 灌頂), a fourth consecration (*caturthābhiṣeka*) of the *Hevajra-tantra*, an aphorismic truth which would seem unnecessary from the Tantric view of the truth. Consequently, they were in need of substantiating this aphorismic truth. However, the Tantric method was not applicable to this purpose. At this time, they reached a stage in which they had to judge the truth or falsehood of the Tantric logic of *yoga* itself on a basis other than that of Tantric practice.

They had no choice but to have recourse to the difficult practice (難行) to substantiate the logic of the easy attainment of the ultimate truth (易行). Actually, they tried to substantiate the logic of meditation by the antithetical practice of pilgimage in the stage of the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra*(10) subsequent to the *Hevajra-tantra*.

During the short lapse of time between the *Hevajra-tantra* and the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra*, the earliest of the *Saṁvara* literature, the system of twenty-four *pīṭhas* of ten classes was very quickly organized. The followers of the *Saṁvara* Tantrism actually pilgrimaged, at least in its early stage, to these *pīṭhas* located in various parts of the Indian subcontinent with the consciousness that they were advancing along the genuinely Mahāyānic process of the ten stages of the *bodhisattva* (*daśabhūmi* 菩薩十地) successively.

However, this system of external *pīṭhas* (*bāhyapīṭha*) was immediately reorganized through the Tantric logic of symbolization as an internal, physical

(10) Sanskrit text: *The Saṁvarodaya-tantra Selected Chapters*, by Shinichi Tsuda, Tokyo, 1974. For chapter 29, S. Tsuda, "*Tattvanirdeśa-paṭala*" of the *Saṁvarodayatantra*: Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation, *Bukkyo-Gaku*, Vol. 1, 1976. Tibetan version: *dPal bde mchog ḥbyuṅ ba shes bya baḥi rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po*. *Peking*. No. 20, Vol. 2.

system (*adhyātmapīṭha*) homologous with the system of external *pīṭhas*. Consequently, the internal system replaced the actual, difficult practice of making a pilgrimage and allowed practicers to attain the goal easily and quickly through a physical yogic practice.

From the point of view of the forms of *maṇḍalas*, the *maṇḍala* of the *Hevajra-tantra*, in its essential part, that is, the inner circle consisting of five *yoginīs* closely follows the form of the *maṇḍala* of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*; that is the plain white circle containing no differences of brightness within. This type of *maṇḍala* indicates the religion of sitting meditators (*yogin*), and in fact, the follower of the *Hevajra-tantra* was fundamentally a meditator. However, as it had become obvious that the logic of *yoga*, or the logic of the religion of the meditators, could only be proved by the antithetical practice of pilgrimage, the sitting meditator of the *Hevajra-tantra* rose to his feet and went on a pilgrimage. Subsequently, the follower of the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra* came to be an alternating practicer of both pilgrimage and meditation. This fact is reflected in the form of the complete *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* of sixty-two deities, which is composed of two concentric parts: the inner circle of a meditator practising *yoga* with five *ḍākinīs* in rotation (*sañcāra*) and the outer twenty-four pilgrims coupled with their female partners.

The *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* of this form looks very similar to the *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* which is also composed of two parts: the central circle of complete brightness, the sphere of those who have already attained the ideal, and the outer circle of those who are in the process of attaining the ideal incleasing in brightness from the outer layers to the inner layers. In view of this then, were the two antithetical elements of Tantric Buddhism, *viz.* the Mahāyānic idea of accumulating merits through difficult practices and the Tantric logic of quickly uniting the individual with the ultimate reality through the easy practice of *yoga*, or the religion of walking pilgrims and the religion of sitting meditators, harmonized in the *Saṁvara* Tantrism? To this question, we are not able to give an affirmative answer.

It was not until the theory of the internal *pīṭhas* (*adhyātmapīṭha*) was completed in the *Vajraḍāka-tantra* that the twenty-four couples of *ḍākas* and *ḍākinīs* were introduced to the *maṇḍala* of the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra*. Until this point, the *maṇḍala* of the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra*, being very similar to the *maṇḍala* of the *Hevajra-tantra*, had not been able to reflect the pilgrimage aspect of its cult, which was later to be manifested in the outer circle of the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* of sixty-two deities. In the *Vajraḍāka-tantra*, each of twenty-four *ḍākinīs*, who are at the same time nothing other than veins (*nāḍī*) rest on each of twenty-four *pīṭhas*, the twenty-four parts composing a human body, are respectively coupled with their male partners. These twenty-four couples are then classified into three groups located in the sky, on the earth and under the earth, *viz.* the circle of mind (*citta-cakra*), the circle of speech (*vāk-cakra*) and the circle of body (*kāya-cakra*). These three totally constitute

the substance of the ultimate reality.

Since the outer circle of the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* is the result of the Tantric idea of the theory of the internal *pīṭhas* and is equipped with all the necessary conditions to guarantee the homology of the individual existence with the ultimate reality, it is sufficient unto itself as a basis of Tantric practice and allows one attain the ultimate truth easily and quickly just as the inner circle had done through an alternative method. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* looks harmonious in its form, it involves an internal discrepancy between its inner and outer circles both of which can work independently of each other.

This internal discrepancy of the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* indicates the 'critical' or precarious character of Tantric Buddhism paradoxically exposed in the *Saṁvara* Tantrism. The *Saṁvara* Tantrism became precarious when it replaced improperly or too hastily the Mahāyānic practice of going on pilgrim to external *pīṭhas* (*bāhyapīṭha*) with the yogic practice of internal *pīṭhas* (*adhyātmapīṭha*). Both of the two antithetical elements of Tantric Buddhism, *viz.* Mahāyānic idea of accumulating merits and Tantric logic of *yoga* were indispensable for the dialectical development of Tantric Buddhism itself. Tantric Buddhism was destined to keep walking along the sharp ridge composed of these two elements being urged by a sense of crisis. Replacing the Mahāyānic practice of pilgrimage, which together with the Tantric practice of sexual *yoga* with the group of five *ḍākinīs* represented by the inner circle of the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala,* constitutes the *Saṁvara* Tantrism itself with another Tantric practice of internal *pīṭhas,* the *Saṁvara* Tantrism lost its own religious vitality caused by the consciousness of the 'crisis'.

In the following chapters of this article, I would like to substantiate the 'critical' or precarious character of Tantric Buddhism I have thus sketched out so as to have my image of Tantric Buddhism as 'critical' or precarious critically examined.

II. The World View of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*

i. The Image of the World of Variocana

An image of the world of the *tathāgata* Vairocana (毘盧遮那, 大日如來) in the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* can be constructed from the scene of the mystical drama at the introductory section of the first chapter of the *sūtra.* The Tibetan version of the *sūtra* states:

> "Thus have I heard at one time. The Reverend Lord (Vairocana) dwelt together with *vajradharas* (holders of adamantine wisdom, 持金剛) to be counted by the number of dusts of ten *buddha*-countries, such as

'Sky-spotless' *vajradhara* (虚空無垢執金剛), 'Walking-in-the-sky' *vajradhara* (虚空遊歩執金剛), 'Appearing-from-the-sky' *vajradhara,* (虚空生執金剛), . . . and *Vajrapāṇi,* the chief of *gulujakas* (秘密主金剛手), in the vast, huge palace of the grand admantine sphere of the reality (大金剛法界宮) resided in by (all the) *tathāgatas.* This grand palace named 'King-jewel' had become visible as it had been imagined by *tathāgatas* as having neither a centre nor a boundary, and immense height, and being decorated very beautifully with king-jewels. He dwelt sitting on the lion-throne though he was assuming the appearance of a *bodhisattva.*

He, being surrounded and faced by the people straining after enlightenment (*bodhisattva* 菩薩), the great people (*mahāsattva* 摩訶薩), such as Samantabhadra (普賢), Maitreya (彌勒), Mañjuśrī (文殊師利), Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin (除一切蓋障) etc., preached the truth of the teaching called 'the phrase of the sameness of body, speech and mind' after blessing (those people) as the 'sun-like *tathāgata*'.

Accordingly, those *bodhisattvas* such as Samantabhadra etc. and *vajradharas* headed by Vajrapāṇi entered into the storehouse of inexhaustible ornaments of the sameness of the body (身平等性無盡荘厳藏) which was displayed to them though the blessing of the Lord Vairocana. They entered also into the storehouse of inexhaustible ornaments of the sameness of the speech and the sameness of the mind. They did not, however, imagine that they had entered into the body, the speech and the mind of the Lord Vairocana, nor did they imagine that they had come out of them.

They saw that all the bodily activities, all the oral activities and all the mental activities of the Lord Vairocana were preaching teachings broadly in all the spheres of living beings in all the places of the world by means of the words of the way of the secret *mantras* (秘密眞言道). They saw people having the same appearance as the *vajradharas* and *bodhisattvas* such as Samantabhadra, Padmapāṇi (蓮華手) etc., that is to say, the people who were preaching by means of the words of the way of the secret *mantras,* by means of completely purified words in ten directions, so as to have beings, who were in their (present) lives totally as a result of former deeds, live through the whole process of their lives, starting from the first birth of the (bodhi-) mind and lasting until the *tenth stage* (or *bodhisattvas*), and fulfil (their lives) by attaining this (tenth stage). They were preaching so as to have the lives of beings, whose lives of deeds (業壽) had been interrupted, bud out again."(11)

(11) ḥdi skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na / bcom ldan ḥdas de bshin gśegs pa thams cad byin gyis rlob pa / rdo rje chen po rgya che ba / chos kyi dbyiṅs kyi pho brañ / rdo rje ḥdsin thams cad ḥdu ba / de bshin gśegs paḥi mos pas rnam par rol pa / mthaḥ dañ dbus med ciṅ rtse mo mtho ba / rin po cheḥi rgyal pos śin tu legs par brgyan pa ḥbyuṅ baḥi khañ bzañ chen po rin po cheḥi rgyal poḥi nañ na // byañ chub sems dpaḥi lus kyi seṅ geḥi khri la bshugs te / ḥdi lta ste / rdo rje ḥdsin nam mkhaḥ dri ma med pa dañ / nam mkhaḥ la rnam par ḥgro ba dañ / nam mkhaḥ ḥbyuṅ ba

They, the *vajradharas* and *bodhisattvas*, entered into the *maṇḍala*, the world of the ultimate reality, and saw the *maṇḍala* itself. Vajrapāṇi expresses this state of being as follows:

> "*Tathāgatas, arhats, samyaksaṁbuddhas,* having attained the omniscience (*sarvajñajñāna* 一切智智), display this omniscience perfectly to all the living beings."(12)

This remark shows the fact that, the *maṇḍala* is nothing but omniscience (*sarvajñajñāna*, literally, the knowledge of the omniscient), the totality of all the spiritual existences extending all over the world.

ii. Various Aspects of the World of Vairocana

It is convenient to represent the *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* as a figure with a large circle which represents the entire *maṇḍala* with a small circle in the centre of it. The former indicates theistically the *buddha* as the ultimate reality (*dharmakāya* 法身, literally, the body of truth), and the latter the *buddha* enjoying the fruit of all the meritorious deeds he has accumulated (*saṁbhogakāya* 報身, the body of enjoyment).

The first thing we notice in this long quotation from the introductory section of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* is that, the whole *maṇḍala* and

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daṅ / ...... gsaṅ ba paḥi bdag po phyag na rdo rje daṅ / de dag la sogs te / saṅs rgyas kyi shiṅ bcuḥi rdul phra rab kyi rdul sñed kyi rdo rje ḥdsin rnams daṅ thabs gcig tu bshugs so // byaṅ chub sems dpaḥ chen po kun tu bzaṅ po daṅ / byams pa daṅ / ḥjam dpal daṅ / sgrib pa thams cad rnam par sel ba la sogs pa dag gis kyaṅ bskor ciṅ mdun gyis bltas pa la ḥdi lta ste / de bshin gśegs paḥi ñi ma dus gsum las ḥdas par byin gyis brlabs nas / sku daṅ gsuṅ daṅ thugs mñam pa ñid kyi gshi shes bya baḥi chos kyi sgoḥi chos ston to // de nas byaṅ chub sems dpaḥ kun tu bzaṅ po la sogs pa de dag daṅ / gsaṅ ba paḥi bdag po la sogs pa rdo rje ḥdsin de dag bcom ldan ḥdas rnam par snaṅ mdsad kyi byin gyis brlabs kyis / sku mñam pa ñid bkod pa mi zad paḥi mdsod rnam par bsgyiṅs pa la shugs so // de bshin du sguṅ daṅ thugs mñam pa ñid bkod pa mi zad paḥi mdsod rnam par bsgyiṅs pa la shugs te / ḥon kyaṅ bcom ldan ḥdas rnam par snaṅ mdsad kyi sku ḥam gsuṅ ṅam thugs la ni ḥjug pa ḥam ldog pa mi dmigs so // thams cad du yaṅ bcom ldan ḥdas rnam par snaṅ mdsad kyi skuḥi phrin las thams cad daṅ / gsuṅ gi phrin las thams cad daṅ / thugs kyi phrin las thams cad sems can gyi khams thams cad la kun tu gsaṅ sṅags kyi tshul gyi tshig ḥdi dag gis chos ston par mthoṅ ba ni ḥdi lta ste / sems can las kyi tshe rnam par bskyed pa rnams sems daṅ po bskyed pa nas bzuṅ ste / sa bcu paḥi bar la gnas pa ḥdi ñid la yoṅs su rdsogs par bya ba daṅ / las kyi tshe bkag pa rnams kyaṅ srid paḥi myu gu mṅon par ḥgrub par bya baḥi phyir rdo rje ḥdsin paḥi lus daṅ ḥdra ba daṅ / byaṅ chub sems dpaḥ kun tu bzaṅ po daṅ / phyag na pad maḥi lus ḥdra ba phyogs bcu na gsaṅ sṅags kyi tshul gyi tshig rnam par dag paḥi tshig dag gis chos ston pa dag kyaṅ mthoṅ ṅo // *Peking*. Vol. 5, 240-3-3～5-1.

(12) ji ltar de bshin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdsogs paḥi saṅs rgyas rnams kyis thams cad mkhyen paḥi ye śes brñes nas / thams cad mkhyen paḥi ye śes de sems can rnams la rnam par phye ste / *Peking*. Vol. 5, 240-5-5.

its centre are indicated with one and the same word "Vairocana". Here, we notice a tendency, if unconscious, common in every system of *maṇḍala*, to represent the whole *maṇḍala* and its centre as the same. This state of affairs must have been taken as a condition of enlightenment.

In the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, this identity of the entirety and its centre occures only when one successfully arrives at the centre of the *maṇḍala* after fulfilling all the necessary stages of the process of attaining enlightenment over the long period of 'the three great uncountable aeons' (三大阿僧祇劫). In the *Hevajra-tantra*, this condition of sameness is retained though in a reversed manner. In the case of the *Hevajra-tantra*, the whole *maṇḍala* is occupied by one and only deity Hevajra. Therefore, if one homologously imitates Hevajra through the sexual *yoga* with the group of five *yoginīs* (*yoginī-cakra*), representing the substance of the *maṇḍala*, he can become identical with the whole *maṇḍala* and can attain enlightenment in one moment.

Secondly, within this quotation, we notice the image of the double-layered world. Using the constituent words of the full title of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, *viz*. *Mahāvairocanābhisaṁbodhivikurvitādhiṣṭhānavaipulyasūtra-indrarājā nāma dharmaparyāya* (大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經), the structure of the world is expressed as follows:

The world is composed of two strata: the world of natural existences (A) and the world of *vikurvaṇa* (神變) (A′) placed upon these natural existences (*adhiṣṭāna* 加持). *Vikurvaṇa* (神變), the miraculous transformation of all merits thus accumulated occurs at the critical moment of the *abhisaṁbodhi* (現等覺) of Vairocana. A and A′ meet within every individual existence which in itself constitutes the entire world in its capacity as a particle of it. There, *bodhisattvas* such as *Samantabhadra* etc. (A) saw "the people of the same appearances" as Samantabhadra etc. (A′) acting for the benefit of the living being in the world. Each individual is called an "ornament" (莊嚴) as long as A and A′ are indivisibly united within him. Those great people such as Samantabhadra etc. well understand this state of being. This is indicated by the expression "they did not imagine that they had entered into the body, the speech and the mind of the Lord Vairocana, nor did they imagine that they had come out of them".

The world of Vairocana is composed of two currents flowing in opposite directions: one from the circumference to the centre and the other from the centre to the circumference. The former is the direction of wisdom (智慧) which realizes itself through the voluntary, subjective efforts of individuals to promote themselves toward the centre of the world, *viz*. enlightenment (*abhisaṁbodhi* 現等覺). Our minds are to be improved through our own efforts of incessantly negating and overcoming each of the successive stages of our mind through the observation of essencelessness (*śūnyatā* 空性). This is the direction of self benefit (自利, *svārtha* or *svahita*) of improving the wisdom of enlightenment (*prajñā* 般若), which is the universal matrix of the

ultimate reality and is at the same time innate within us.

The latter is the direction of the universal compassion (慈悲) emanating from the centre of the world. This universal compassion is reflected within our individual minds and is realized by our personal exertions (*upāya* 方便) for the benefit of others (利他, *parārtha* or *parahita*).

The current from the circumference to the centre is nothing but the stratum A and the current opposite to this is the stratum A′ abovementioned. *Prajñā* (般若), the wisdom for self benefit (自利), and *upāya* (方便), the actual exertion for the benefit of others (利他) through compassion (慈悲) meet within each of us who make up the world of Vairocana. In other words, we can become the component parts of the world of Vairocana only on the condition that these two elements i. e. *prajñā* and *upāya* are indivisibly united in our individual existence to form our minds directing toward enlightenment (*bodhicitta* 菩提心). Here is presented the most fundamental axiom:

'*prajñā* plus *upāya* is *bodhicitta*'.

This was the essential axiom through the course of the development of Tantric ideas. Tantric Buddhists interpreted literally the metaphor prevalent in Mahāyāna Buddhism, which compares *prajñā* to the mother and *upāya* to the father of a *buddha*. They represented the innate *bodhicitta* with the mixture of menstrual fluid and semen which is originated through the sexual union of the mother (*prajñā*) and the father (*upāya*).

They should have been able to attain enlightenment easily and quickly only by making the symbolized *bodhicitta* (the mixture of menstrual fluid and semen) ascend through the spinal vein (*nāḍī*) of their bodies i. e. *Avadhūtī* to the topmost nerve centre (*cakra*) thought to be situated on the uppermost part of the head. So far as the Tantric logic is concerned, because that which is to be symbolized and the symbol itself are one and the same, when the symbolized *bodhicitta* attains to the topmost *cakra* of great pleasure (*Mahāsukha-cakra*), having been promoted through the symbolized process of attaining enlightenment, that is, the vein *Avadhūtī*, enlightenment should be realized thereupon.

Here, we notice the critical turn which divides Tantrism from Mahāyāna Buddhism. At the moment when they replaced *upāya* (方便), direct exertions based on compassion (慈悲), with another symbol such as semen, they passed over the ridge to the slope of Tantrism. For a follower of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, it was inconceivable at all to symbolize *upāya*, manipulate it through physical or sexual yogic practice and consequently dissolve the basic principle of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Thirdly, in this long quotation from the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, we find the Mahāyānic ideal of life, which is completely antithetical to the Tantric ideal of the quick attainment of enlightenment. The Mahāyānic ideal regards

human life as the entire process of the current flowing from the circumference to the centre of the world of Vairocana. The image of a human being in the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* is that of a pilgrim who continues walking this nearly endless course of life steadily und untiringly.

In Mahāyāna Buddhism, in order to fulfil the entire process of attaining enlightenment, the unimaginably long period of the three great uncountable aeons (三大阿僧祇劫) is thought to be needed. On the other hand, Tantrism advocated a revolutionally new ideal of attaining enlightenment quickly on the basis of the logic of *yoga*. In the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, however, which has been taken as one of the two Fundamental scriptures of Tantric Buddhism, the ideal of quick attainment of enlightenment is denied for the very reason that the structure of the world and human existence require a gradual process of attainment.

In the latter portion of the first chapter, the chapter of the progressing stages of mind (住心品) of the Chinese translation of the text, a section called the process of promoting the grades of mind (心品轉昇次第) describes the state of mind which has already been completely purified through the effort over the unimaginably long period as follows:

> "Within the *bodhisattvas* who practise the practice of *bodhisattvas* through the way of secret *mantras* (秘密眞言道) and who have already accumulated infinite materials of both meritorious deeds (福德) and knowledge (智慧) for an unimaginably long period of hundreds of thousands of millions of innumerable aeons, occurs the completely characterless mind (極無自性心), which is accompanied by infinite wisdom (*prajñā*) and means (*upāya*)....... O the chief of *guhyakas*, this is nothing but the mind of enlightenment of the first stage (of *bodhisattvas*) (初地菩提心)".

Here, it is clearly advocated that, in order to reach to the inner circle of the *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, along with the improvement of wisdom, the accumulation of the material of meritorious deeds (*puṇya-saṁbhāra* 福德資糧) is indispensable. *Puṇyasambhāra* is the result of all the direct exertions for the benefit of others performed because of compassion (慈悲). These exertions are impressed and stored in one's mind, just like a kind of energy, constituting the necessary materials for the attainment of enlightenment. As long as one needs this *puṇyasaṁbhāra*, which is produced through one's actions (*karman* 業) for the benefit of others, he can not jump over the stages of the improvement of mind as is done in Tantrism.

The word "lives of deeds" (業壽) refers to the chain of action (*karman* 業)

(13) gshan yaṅ byaṅ chub sems dpaḥ gsaṅ sṅags kyi sgo nas byaṅ chub sems dpaḥi spyad pa spyod pa / bskal pa bye ba khrig brgya stoṅ dpag tu med pa bsags pa rnams la śes rab daṅ thabs dpag tu med pas yoṅs su bzuṅ ba / ...... śin tu ṅo bo ñid med paḥi sems skye ste / gsaṅ ba paḥi bdag po / ḥdi ni byaṅ chub kyi sems daṅ po shes rgyal ba rnams kyis gsuṅs so // *Peking*. Vol. 5, 243-2-3～7.

formerly done and its fruit, that is, afflictive existence (諦) in the world.

In Hīnayāna Buddhism, bringing oneself to the absolute nothingness of *nirvāṇa* (涅槃) through abstaining from action, thus severing the chain of action and its results which have been in existence since the beginningless past was the ideal. In Tantrism, however, action and its results have ceased to be the issue. For a Tantrist, who is essentially a solitary *yogin* sitting in meditation directly facing the ultimate reality by himself, the existence of others is of no meaning. For him, no compassion toward others and no exertions for the benefit of others based of compassion are necessary.

On the other hand, in the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* quoted at the beginnig of this chapter, it is clearly stated that the ideal is not to sever the chain of action and its results, but to complete the chain itself. It naturally follows that everyone is responsible for the continued existence of the world of Vairocana. The compassion of Vairocana works so as to have each one of them live their lives completely through the entire process which seems practically endless. Correspondingly, each person has as the duty of his life to live so as to have Vairocana continue to exist. The world of reality, the omniscience (*sarvajñajñāna* (一切智智), or Vairocana as the ultimate reality (*dharmakāya* 法身) continues to exist for its own sake, simply because its existence itself is good.

iii. Conditions for the Existence of the World of Vairocana

As is natural to a Mahāyānic way of thinking, this world of Vairocana is thought to exist not as an objective, solid substance, but as an essenceless (*śūnya* 空), conditional existence (縁生). It exists as long as certain necessary conditions are complete.

Vajrapāṇi, who has seen the world of Vairocana and recognized it to be the self-development of the universal wisdom (*sarvajñajñāna* 一切智智) (see p. 178), compares it to the five gross elements, *viz.* ether, earth, fire, wind and water (*pañcamahābhūta* 五大). Subsequently, he asks the Reverend Lord Vairocana the conditions which keep the universal wisdom, which is nothing other than the world of Vairocana, existent:

> "...... O Reverend Lord, metaphorically speaking, the element of water makes the bodies of all living beings comfortable. Likewise, the wisdom of the omniscient (*sarvajñajñāna* 一切智智) makes the world accompanied with the celestials comfortable. In that case, what is the cause (因)? What is the root (根)? And what is the final aim (究竟) of this wisdom?"(14)

(14) .... bcom ldan ḥdas ḥdi lta ste dper bgyi na / chuḥi khams ni sems can thams cad kyi lus sim par bgyid pa lags so // de bshin du thams cad mkhyen paḥi ye śes kyaṅ lha daṅ bcas paḥi ḥjig rten rab tu sim par bgyid pa lags na / bcom ldan ḥdas / ye śes ḥdiḥi rgyu ni gaṅ lags / rtsa ba ni gaṅ lags / mthar thug pa ni gaṅ lags / *Peking*. Vol. 5, 241-1-5～6.

The answer to this question is contained in what has been referred to as 'the three phrases' (三句) (see p. 169).

"O Vajrapāṇi! Well done! Well done! You cleverly asked me those questions. Listen and remember rightly and completely what I will tell you. The cause is the mind seeking for enlightenment (*bodhicitta* 菩提心); the root is the compassion (*karuṇā* 悲); and the final aim (*paryavasāna* 究竟) is means (practically employed for the benefit of others) (*upāya* 方便).[15]

O the chief of *guhyakas*! What is the enlightenment then? It is to know our own mind truly and thoroughly; and (what is attained therethrough) is nothing but the highest, the right and the complete enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṁbodhi* 無上正等覺)."[16]

Herein lies another maxim which together with 'the three phrases' has been traditionally taken as the most essential teaching of the system of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra, viz.* 'recognize your own mind truly and thoroughly' (如実知自心). Subsequently, Vajrapāṇi asks another supplementary question:

"O Reverend Lord! From what position should the state of the omniscient (*sarvajñatā* 一切智性) be sought after? Through what should the enlightenment be attained definitely and perfectly?"[17]

The Lord Vairocana answers:

"The enlightenment (菩提) and the state of the omniscient (一切智性) are to be sought after from one's own mind; the mind is (at its very bottom the universal mind which has been) completely purified by nature (from the first) (本性清浄, Tib. *raṅ bshin gyis yoṅs su dag pa, svabhāvapariśuddha* or *prakṛtipariśuddha*?)."[18]

These questions and answers clearly indicate the Mahāyānic idea of the relation between the ultimate reality and the individual existence. The

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(15) This passage is quoted in Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākrama*: *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhau coktam / tad etat sarvajñajñānaṃ karuṇāmūlaṃ bodhicittahetukam upāyaparyavasānam iti*. G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts* Part II, p. 196.

(16) lag na rdo rje / legs so legs so // lag na rdo rje / gaṅ khyod ṅa la don ḥdi ḥdri ba ni yaṅ legs so // deḥi phyir ñon la legs par rab tu yid la zuṅ śig daṅ / ṅas khyod la bśad do // rgyu ni byaṅ chub kyi sems so / rtsa ba ni sñiṅ rje chen poḥo / mthar thug pa ni thabs to // gsaṅ ba paḥi bdag po / de la byaṅ chub gaṅ she ne / raṅ gi sems yaṅ dag pa ji lta ba bshin yoṅs su śes pa ste / de yaṅ bla na med pa yaṅ dag par rdsogs paḥi byaṅ chub bo // *Peking*. Vol. 5, 241～1-7～2-1.

(17) bcom ldan ḥdas thams cad mkhyen pa ñid ni gaṅ nas yoṅs su btsal bar bgyi // gaṅ gis ni byaṅ chub mṅon par rdsogs par ḥtshaṅ rgya bar bgyi // *Peking*. Vol. 5, 241-2-3～4.

(18) byaṅ chub daṅ thams cad mkhyen pa ñid ni raṅ gi sems las yoṅs su btsal bar byaḥo // de ciḥi phyir she na / sems de ni raṅ bshin gyis yoṅs su dag pa yin te / *Peking*. Vol. 5, 241-2-4～5.

universal, ultimate reality owes the conditions of its existence and its continuation to the intellectual and practical effort of an individual existence. The universal wisdom (*sarvajñajñāna*), which is nothing but the ultimate reality or the *maṇḍala* of Vairocana is to be realized through the personal effort of penetrating one's own mind to its very bottom. At this point, the individual and the universal are unified as one and the same thing. In the system of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, the unity or *yoga* of the individual existence with the ultimate reality, which is nothing other than the religious ideal of Tantric Buddhism, occurs only at the very bottom of human mind, or in other words, the place where the enlightenment is actually realized (*bodhimaṇḍa* 菩提道場), which is figuratively the centre of the *maṇḍala*.

This fact exactly corresponds with the statement that "the whole *maṇḍala* and its centre are indicated with one and the same word i.e. Vairocana (see p. 179).

The world of Vairocana is to be depicted as a circle the radius of which represents the entire process of the progress of the human mind toward enlightenment. While within this circle, one ought to continue walking as a pilgrim on the destined course toward the centre, Vairocana. One continues walking voluntarily harmonizing within himself *bodhicitta*,(19) the mind aiming toward enlightenment with *karuṇā*, the universal compassion of Vairocana reflected upon him, so as to realize the final aim (*paryavasāna* 究竟) of saving all living beings through practical means (*upāya* 方便). This aim is to be realized only when he attains enlightenment (*abhisaṁbodhi* 現等覺).

The religious ideal of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* is placed in the far future beyond the three great uncountable aeons (三大阿僧祇劫); but, as long as one continues walking on the way toward the ideal, one is walking within the ideal itself.

iv. The Theory of One Hundred and Sixty Monadic Minds

As can be expected from the remark in the previous section (see p. 183) that "the enlightenment and the state of the omniscient are to be sought after from one's own mind" the structure of the world is determined by that of the individual existence. Tha latter should also serve as a basis of morals helping people to decide their practical behaviour in the world. The structure of the individual existence, which we will refer to as 'the theory of one

(19) *bodhicitta* is a word of double meaning. The commentator Buddhaguhya rightly says in his *Longer Commentary*: "*bodhicitta* is of two kinds: one is the brave mind seeking after enlightenment, the other, the mind of the nature of enlightenment." *de la byaṅ chub kyi sems la yaṅ rnam pa gñis te byaṅ chub kyi phyir sems dpaḥ daṅ / byaṅ chub kyi raṅ bshin gyi sems so* ‖ *Peking*. Vol. 77, 236-4-3~4 (Revised) and 116-4-5 (Unrevised Longer Commentary). *Bodhicitta* shown in the axiom '*prajñā* plus *upāya* is *bodhicitta*' (see p. 21) corresponds with what Buddhaguhya says "the mind of the nature of enlightenment".

hundred and sixty minds' may well be regarded as the most important problem of the whole theoretical system of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*.

The Chinese title of the first chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, *viz.* 住心品 literally means "the chapter of the various stages of human mind". Kōbō-daishi Kūkai (弘法大師空海), the founder of the *Shingon*-sect of Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, taking the word 住心 literally as referring to the process of promoting the grades of mind (心品轉昇の次第) (see p. 15), established his fundamental system of 'the ten progressive stages of mind' (十住心の教判). According to this system, the process of the promotion of mind mentioned in the *sūtra* is divided into ten stages from the first, *viz.* 'the mind of people (in the natural state) as foolish as goats or sheeps' (異生羝羊心) to the tenth, *viz.* 'the mind (constituting the world of Vairocana) as a secret ornament (of it)' (秘密莊嚴心). He applied each of the extant sects of Buddhism and even Confucianism and Taoism to these ten stages, and thus established successfully a complete system which presents to us the magnificent, harmonious image of the world of Vairocana. On the uppermost layer of this world is situated the Esoteric Buddhism of the *Shingon*-sect (九顯一密), and at the same time, all the layers are included within the field of Esoteric Buddhism (九顯十密).

As Kūkai's systematization is so complete and his influence so decisive, it has never been doubted that the word 住心 means the progressive stages of the human mind or that it refers to the process of promoting the grades of mind (心品轉昇の次第). This fact, however, does not necessarily mean that the only possible interpretation of the word 住心 is as the vertical, progressing stages of human mind. In fact, we do not even find this word in the text of the first chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* itself, which is the context in which one should interpret the meaning of the title of the chapter 住心品.

Now, if we enlarge our scope to the Tibetan version of the text and the commentaries[20] of Buddhaguhya (c. 800 A.D.), we find another possible way of interpreting the word 住心 which enables us to reconstruct the structure of the individual existence, on the basis of which we can describe the structure of the world precisely, and at the same time determine our practical behaviour logically. Actually, 住心品 means 'the chapter of one hundred and sixty minds'.

In the Tibetan version, the title of the first chapter is "*sems kyi khyad par rim par phye ba*" (Skt. *cittaviśeṣa-paṭala?*) which means 'the chapter of various minds' or 'the chapter of distinctions of mind' (心差別品). On the

(20) *The Shorter Commentary*: *rNam par snaṅ mdsad mṅon par rdsogs par byaṅ chub paḥi rgyud kyi bsdus don*. *Peking*. No. 3486, Vol. 77. *The Unrevised Longer Commentary*: *rNam par snaṅ mdsad mṅon par rdsogs par byaṅ chub pa rnam par sprul pa byin gyis rlob paḥi rgyud chen poḥi bśad pa*. *Peking*. No. 3487, Vol. 77. *The Revised Longer Commentary*: *rNam par snaṅ mdsad mṅon par rdsogs par byaṅ chub pa rnam par sprul pa byin gyis rlob paḥi rgyud chen poḥi ḥgrel pa*. *Peking*. No. 3490, Vol. 77.

other hand, the *Unrevised Longer Commentary* of Buddhaguhya gives the title "*sems kyi rgyud rim par phye ba* (Skt. *cittasaṁtānapaṭala* or *cittasaṁtati-paṭala*?) which means 'the chapter of the continuation of mind' or 'the chapter of minds as continuations' (心相續品). As it is our fundamental premise that these two words, *viz. sems kyi khyad par* and *sems kyi rgyud* should indicate one and the same thing, even if it is difficult to find a Sanskrit equivalent common to these two Tibetan words, we can easily determine the passage which indicates the meaning of the chapter by comparing the quotations from the *Unrevised Longer Commentary* of Buddhaguhya, which cover the *sūtra* nearly completely, with the Tibetan version of the *sūtra*, and locating the place where these two words, *viz. sems kyi rgyud* of Buddhaguhya's commentary and *sems kyi khyad par* of the Tibetan version of the *sūtra* correspond. These two words correspond in only one paragraph, which enumerates and explains each of the sixty experiential minds actually occurring in our minds.

To Vajrapāṇī's question abovementioned (see p. 183), the Lord Vairocana answers that "the enlightenment and the state of the omniscient are to be sought after from one's own mind" and subsequently describes the state of mind which is at the very bottom of our mind and is nothing other than the enlightenment itself. This state of mind is called 'the mind of enlightenment of the first stage of the *bodhisattvas*' (初地菩提心), or 'the first course of the realm where the truth is realized' (初法明道). Subsequently, Vajrapāṇi asks the Lord questions as follows:

"O Reverend Lord! How does the mind of enlightenment arise?
How shall I look for the characteristics of this mind (thus) arisen from which the enlightenment occurs?
O the most excellent of the people who know this mind!
O the great hero who has arisen from the wisdom!
Tell me, after overcoming how many minds does this mind arise?
O the protector! Tell me broadly the aspects of minds and the time (to be spent to overcome these minds).
O great saint! How are the merits of these (minds)?
How are the practices (to be practised in each of the stages) of these (minds)?
Tell me the distinctions of each (of these) minds."[21]

The Lord answers:

---

(21) bcom ldan *ḥdas* ji ltar byaṅ chub tu sems bskyed pa shes bgyi ba lags / byaṅ chub ḥbyuṅ baḥi sems skyes paḥi // mtshan ñid ji ltar ḥtshal bar bgyi // sems mkhyen pa ni rnams kyi mchog // dpaḥ chen ye śes las byuṅ ba // ci sñed cig las ḥdas nas ni // skye bar ḥgyur ba bstan du gsol // mgon po sems kyi mtshan ñid daṅ // dus kyaṅ rgya cher bśad du gsol // de dag bsod nams ci ḥdra daṅ // spyod pa ci ḥdrar ḥgyur ba daṅ // sems la sems kyi khyad par yaṅ // thub pa chen pos bstan du gsol // *Peking*. Vol. 5, 241-4-5～8.

"Well done! My son!
The aspect of the continuation of mind, which is the highest stage of the Great Vehicle,
is the most excellent of the secrets of the perfectly enlightened ones.
It can not be known by any of the people who thinks of things logically.
Concentrate your mind and listen to me. I will tell you the whole truth".(22)

Thus, the Lord Vairocana begins to relate the whole process of the progressing grades of minds (心品轉昇の次第). In the beginning, Vairocana mentions the eight stages of mundane minds (世間八心) in which the real existence of *ātman* is upheld. Subsequently after these eight, so to speak, 'vertical' mundane minds, the sixty, so to speak, 'horizontal' mundane minds out of a total of one hundred and sixty minds are enumerated.

Vajrapāṇi asks a question, in which the two words abovementioned, *viz. sems kyi khyad par* and *sems kyi rgyud*, correspond.

bcom ldan ḥdas sems kyi khyad par de dag bśad du gsol(23)
"O Reverend Lord! Tell me those various minds!"

The Unrevised Longer Commentary of Buddhaguhya gives following quotation:

bcom ldan ḥdas sems kyi rgyud de dag bśad du gsol(24)
"O Reverend Lord! Tell me those minds as continuations!"

The Lord answers to this question and enumerates sixty minds:

"O the chief of *guhyakas*! Listen to the characteristics of various minds. O the chief of *guhyakas*! Those minds are: the mind of desire (貪心), the mind without desire (無貪心), the mind of wrath (瞋心), the mind of friendliness (慈心), the mind of foolishness (癡心), ...
......
What is the mind of desire then? It is (the mind) of a person who has desire coming into contact with an object. What is the mind without desire? It is (the mind of) a person who is free from desire coming into contact with an object. What is the mind of wrath? It is (the mind of a person) who has wrath coming into contact with an object. What is the mind of friendliness? It is (the mind of) a person who has friendliness coming into contact with an object. What is the mind of foolishness? It

(22) de skad gsol nas de yi tshe // bcom ldan rnam par snaṅ chen gyis // phyag na rdo rje cher ḥbyuṅ la // legs so bu shes ḥdi skad gsuṅs // theg pa chen poḥi go ḥphaṅ mchog // sems kyi rgyud kyi mtshan ñid ni // rdsogs saṅs rgyas kyi gsaṅ baḥi mchog // rtog ge kun gyis mi śes pa // thams cad khyod la bśad par bya // yid gcig bsdus la mñan par gyis // *Peking*. Vol. 5, 241-4-8～5-1.

(23) *Peking*. vol. 5, 242-2-6. Chinese version: 惟願世尊說彼心. *Taisho*. Vol. 18, p. 2, c, l. 3.

(24) *Peking*. Vol. 77, 121--2-6.

is (the mind of a person) coming into contact with an object without consideration. ......

......

O the chief of *guhyakas*! When one expends three aeons (*kalpa* 劫), one overcomes one hundred and sixty minds, which is obtained by once, twice, three times, four times and five times multiplying by two, the super-mundane mind occurs within him. That is to say:

As this (world) is nothing but (the aggregate of) the *skandhas* (蘊), *ātman* (我) does not exist at all.
This world is to be abandoned as it is of no use, because it is nothing more than the object of senses.
......"(25)

It is of course tenable to assume that those one hundred and sixty minds are mundane and occur only once at the last stage of the eight mundane minds (世間八心). However, inasmuch as we must recognize the fact that these one hundred and sixty minds are of such importance that they are referred to by the title of the first chapter of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* and occupy as much as one quarter of the whole chapter, we can not merely be contented with the hitherto accepted interpretation.

We would like to reconstruct the structure of human mind on the two co-ordinates, *viz.* the ordinate of the vertical process of progressive grades of mind (心品轉昇の次第) and the abscissa of the horizontal one hundred and sixty minds.

From this point of view, we notice that Vajrapāṇi's questions refer to nothing other than this total structure of human mind to be understood in both vertical and horizontal terms. When he asked "the characteristics of the mind (thus) arisen" (*sems skyes paḥi mtshan ñid*), he was referring to the mind of a *bodhisattva* who has entered into the first stage of the *bodhisattvas* (初地), which is the ideal state described in the answer of the Lord as "the highest stage of the Great Vehicle" (*theg pa chen poḥi go ḥphan mchog* 大乘最勝位). This "highest" mind on the vertical scale is also composed of one

(25) gsaṅ ba paḥi bdag po / sems kyi khyad par gyi mtshan ñid ñon cig / gsaṅ ba paḥi bdag po / de la sems ḥdi ni ḥdod chags kyi sems daṅ / ḥdod chags daṅ bral baḥi sams daṅ / she sdaṅ gi sems daṅ / byaṁs paḥi sems daṅ / gti mug gi sems daṅ / ...... de la ḥdod chags kyi sems gaṅ she na chags pa can chos kun tu sten paḥo // ḥdod chags daṅ bral baḥi sems gaṅ she na / ḥdod chags daṅ bral ba chos kun tu sten paḥo // she sdaṅ gi sems gaṅ she na / sdaṅ bas chos kun tu sten paḥo // byams paḥi sems gaṅ she na / byams pa daṅ ldan pas chos kun tu sten paḥo // gti mug gi sems gaṅ she na / gaṅ mi dpyod par chos sten paḥo // .... gsaṅ ba paḥi bdag po / de ltar na gcig gñis gsum bshi lṅa gñis su bsgyur ba byas pas / ḥjig rten paḥi sems brgya drug cu bskal pa gsum gyis ḥdas nas / ḥjig rten las ḥdas paḥi sems skye ste / ḥdi lta ste / ḥdi ni phuṅ po tsam ñid de // bdag ni nam yaṅ yod ma yin // dbaṅ poḥi groṅ khyer khams rnams kyis // ḥjig rten don med rnam par ñams // ...... *Peking*. Vol. 5, 242-2-7～243-1-3.

hundred and sixty horizontal minds such as "the mind of desire" (貪心) and so on.

We assume that this was the original interpretation of the structure of mind within the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*. However, we only occasionally get a glimpse of it in an exceptional remark appearing in the commentators, *viz.* Śubhakarasiṁha (善無畏, died 735 A.D.) and Buddhaguhya, both of them took the one hundred and sixty minds only as mundane. The only example we can find in Buddhaguhya's commentary is as follows:

> *sems kyi dṅos po drug cu rnams las brgya drug cur ḥphel ba yaṅ sgrib paḥi cha phra rags gsum du phye ste gsum po de rnams re re shiṅ yaṅ gsum gsum du phye bas rnam pa dgur bltaḥo ‖ de la sgirb pa chen poḥi chen po la sems gcig spoṅ la chen poḥi ḥbriṅ po la ni gñis spoṅ / chen poḥi chuṅ ṅu la gsum spoṅ / ḥbriṅ gi chen po la bshi spoṅ / ḥbriṅ gi ḥbriṅ la ni lṅa spoṅ / ḥbriṅ gi chuṅ ṅu la ni drug spoṅ / chuṅ ṅuḥi chen po la bdun spoṅ / chuṅ ṅuḥi ḥbriṅ la brgyad spoṅ / ḥog nas ḥbyuṅ baḥi tshul gyis de ltar sems brgya drug cu mos pas spyod paḥi sa nas sbyoṅ shiṅ mos pas spyod paḥi sa de rdsogs par byed do ‖ de la dgu po rnams kyi tha ma chuṅ ṅuḥi yaṅ chuṅ ṅu ni mos pas spyod paḥi sa nas ḥphar nas spoṅ ste / ye śes kyi sa la ḥjug par śes par byaḥo ‖*(26)
>
> "Even when we increase the (number of) substantial minds from sixty to one hundred and sixty, they are thought to be classified into nine as we divide the degrees of the obstruction (of these minds) into three in accordance with its grossness and minuteness and again subdivide each of these three classes into three.
>
> When the obstruction (of the one hundred and sixty horizontal minds) is (to be classed as) the gross of the gross, (the mind of) the first (stage of the vertical process of progressing grades of the mind) abandons (these one hundred and sixty minds). When (the obstruction is) the medium of the gross, the second (mind) abandons (the one hundred and sixty horizontal minds corresponding to it). When (the obstruction is) the minute of the gross, the third abandons. When the gross of the medium, the fourth abandons. When the medium of the medium, the fifth abandons. When the minute of the medium, the sixth abandons. When the gross of the minute, the seventh abandons. When the medium of the minute, the eighth abandons. In the manner shown later, one completes thus the *adhimu kticaryā-bhūmi* (信解行地) by exterminating the one hundred and sixty (horizontal) minds (which correspond to the vertical mind) of *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*.
>
> Then, exterminating (the one hundred and sixty minds the obstacle of which is) the minute of the minute, (and which correspond to) the

(26) *Peking*. Vol. 77, 121-4-2～6; 241-3-3～7.

last of all the nine (stage of the vertical process of mind), he is known to enter into the stage of wisdom (*jñāna-bhūmi* 慧地)".

This enigmatic passage makes sense only when we apply our hypothetical understanding of the above-mentioned structure of human mind.

Here, the nine layers of the one hundred and sixty horizontal minds, which are described as "substantial minds" (*sems kyi dṅos po, citta-vastu?*), are aligned vertically according to the decreasing grossness of the obstruction (*sgrib pa, āvaraṇa*); or, according to the factor of each of these one hundred and sixty minds which obstructs or conceals the original brightness of these "substantial minds". On top of these nine layers, is added the tenth layer of one hundred and sixty minds each of which has no obstructions at all. These ten layers of horizontal minds form the ordinate of the vertical process of ten progressing stages of the mind.

The key to a satisfactory translation of this passage is found in the last sentence. In Buddhaguhya's system, *adhimukticaryā-bhūmi* (*mos pas spyod paḥi sa* 信解行地), which usually means the ten stages of the *bodhisattvas* (菩薩十地), is the stage just prior to the first stage of the *bodhisattvas* (初地) which is referred to by the word *ye śes kyi sa (jñāna-bhūmi?* 慧地) in this passage.

Therefore, when one exterminates the ninth layer of one hundred and sixty minds, the obstruction of which is the minute of the minute, corresponding to the stage just prior to "the stage of wisdom" (*ye śes kyi sa*), one enters into "the stage of wisdom" of one hundred and sixty minds in which there are no obstructions still to be exterminated. This layer of one hundred and sixty minds thus completely purified is nothing other than 'substance' of the mind of enlightenment of the first stage of the *bodhisattvas* (初地菩提心) or "the completely characterless mind" (極無自性心) (see p. 181).

Applying this understanding to the sentence *chuṅ ṅuḥi ḥbriṅ la brgyad spoṅ*, we obtain the meaning of the sentence as follows: "when (the obstruction of the one hundred and sixty minds is) the medium of the minute, (the mind of) the eighth (stage) exterminates (these one hundred and sixty minds)". The above passage should be translated accordingly.

This idea of overcoming the layers of the horizontal one hundred and sixty minds appears also as an exception in the commentary[27] of Śubhakarasiṁha in the well-known passage of his 'secret interpretation' demonstrating the possibility of attaining enlightenment quickly. He translates the passage which corresponds to the last part of the above quotation, *viz. de ltar na gcig gñis gsum bshi lṅa gñis su bsgyur ba byas pas / ḥjig rten paḥi sems brgya drug cu bskal pa gsum gyis ḥdas nas / ḥjig rten pas ḥdas paḥi sems skye ste /* as follows:

(27) 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏. *Taisho.* No. 1796, Vol. 39.

秘密主一二三四五再數. 凡百六十心. 越世間三妄執. 出世間心生.(28)

He explains this sentence as follows:

越世間三妄執出世間心生者. 若以淨菩提心爲出世間心. 卽是超越三劫瑜祇行. 梵云劫跛. 有二義. 一者時分. 二者妄執. 若依常途解釋. 度三阿僧祇劫得成正覺. 若秘密釋. 超一劫瑜祇行. 卽度百六十心等一重麁妄執. 名一阿僧祇劫. 超二劫瑜祇行. 又度一百六十心等一重細妄執. 名二阿僧祇劫. 眞言門行者. 復越一劫. 更度百六十心等一重極細妄執. 得至佛慧初心. 故云三阿僧祇劫成佛也. 若一生度此三妄執. 則一生成佛. 何論時分耶.(29)

"The meaning of the passage 'overcoming three kinds of mundane *kalpas* the supermundane mind occures' is as follows: if this 'supermundane mind' is the pure mind of enlightenment, it requires yogic practice (of unimaginably long period) over the three aeons (*kalpa*). The Sanskrit word *kalpa* means two things, that is, firstly, duration of time, and secondly, misleading attachment. If we rely on an ordinary interpretation, it means that one attains enlightenment only after the long period of three uncountable aeons. If we rely on the secret interpretation, the meaning is as follows: to exceed the practice of the first aeon is nothing other than to overcome the layer of one hundred and sixty minds of gross attachment; and this is called the first uncountable aeon. To exceed the practice of the second aeon is to overcome the layer of one hundred and sixty minds of minute attachment; this is called the second uncountable aeon. When a practicer of *mantras* exceeds (the practice of) one more aeon, he attains the first mind of the wisdom of *buddhas* by overcoming the layer of one hundred and sixty minds of extremely minute attachment. Therefore, the enlightenment is said to be attained through three uncountable aeons. If he overcomes these three kinds of attachment in his life, he can attain enlightenment in his very life. Why do we have to call the duration of time to account?"

We also find in Śubhakarasiṁha's commentary an example of the idea classifying the vertical process of the promotion of mind into nine according to the qualities of the defilement of the mind. Explaining the reason why the horizontal minds, which he takes as the minds of defilements (煩悩心), number one hundred and sixty, he states:

以衆生煩惱心. 常依二法不得中道故. 随事異名輒分爲二. 就此二中. 復更展轉細分之. 其名相. 具如十萬偈中說. 若更上中下九品等. 乃至八萬塵勞. 廣則無量.(30)

"Whenever one comes into contact with an object, one's mind of defilement comes to have two different names as one always relies on the two

(28) *Taisho*. Vol. 18, p. 3, a, 1.28 f.
(29) *Taisho*. Vol. 39, p. 600, c, 1. 19 f.
(30) *Taisho*. Vol. 39, p. 600, c, 1.4 f.

extremes but not on the middle way. The names and characteristics (of the one hundred and sixty minds, the number of which can be obtained by) dividing these two minds again and again, are fully mentioned in the (longer *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* of) 100,000 verses. If we divide (each of these one hundred and sixty minds) into nine classes according to their qualities of superior, medium and inferior, the number of afflictions finally come to eighty thousand. If we divide more minutely, they become innumerable."

From these examples, we assume the original image of the human mind in the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* to be as follows:

The human mind is, at any moment, composed of one hundred and sixty monadic or substantial minds, which were referred to in the title of the first chapter of the *sūtra* as "various minds" or "distinctions of minds" (*sems kyi khyad par, cittaviśeṣa?* 心差別) in the Tibetan version, or as "continuation of mind" or "minds as continuations" (*sems kyi rgyud,* 心相續) in the version used by the commentator Buddhaguhya. These minds, which are enumerated, on a basis yet to be known, number one hundred and sixty, and are seen as operations or tendencies of mind, or the forms of operations of mind which were obtained empirically and introspectively by the author of the *sūtra* through the careful observation of his own mind. These one hundred and sixty monadic minds, being in horizontal row, form the 'width' of the mind of a person.

These one hundred and sixty minds arise in a person as the internal reflection of his various actions towards an object when he comes into contact with that object. Therefore, he can make these minds occur at will by exercising himself upon an object, and accordingly, he can promote his mind by making a new kind of one hundred and sixty minds occur through new action.

The mind of a person, in its total structure, consists of the innumerable layers of these one hundred and sixty minds accumulated throughout the whole course of his life beginning from the first origination of the mind aimed toward enlightenment (初發心) and ending in the actual attainment of enlightenment (現等覺). Here, we can recognize the fact that the idea of one hundred and sixty minds is located on the pivot of the whole theoretical system of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*.

v. The Structure of the *Maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*

As was previously mentioned (see p. 182), the universal wisdom (*sarvajñajñāna* 一切智智), which is nothing other than the *dharmakāya* (法身, the body of the ultimate reality) of Vairocana or the world of Vairocana itself, functions so as to allow a person complete his entire life which begins from the circumference of the world of Vairocana and ends at its centre. On the

other hand, this person in turn is responsible for the existence of the world of Vairocana and has to live his entire life maintaining at every moment the three conditions of the existence of the world of Vairocana, *viz. bodhicitta* as the cause (菩提心爲因), *karuṇā* as the root (悲爲根本) and *upāya* as the final aim (方便爲究竟). How then is he to live his entire life completely?

As the structure of his mind composed of one hundred and sixty monadic minds requires, he should observe his own one hundred and sixty minds objectively at every moment and judge their position on the 'yardmeasure' of his entire life; that is on the radius of the world of Vairocana. Then, he should overcome the one hundred and sixty minds of each stage by making the one hundred and sixty minds of the next stage occur through his new action for the benefit of others. He drives himself incessantly toward new actions as he is always urged on by the compassion (*karuṇā* 悲) of Vairocana which he is asked to take as the root. He does not terminate even for a moment his self-recognizing or self-negating wisdom. In other words, the aspiring tendency of his mind (*bodhicitta* 菩提心, the mind aimed toward enlightenment) does not allow him to do so. He continues his effort of purifying his one hundred and sixty minds until they come to have no defilements or obstructions left to be purified. He is always guided by his final aim to save all living beings through exertions or means (*upāya* 方便), which are to be realized only when he attains enlightenment (現等覺). Thus, we notice the fact that in any layer of one hundred and sixty minds occuring at any moment all of the three conditions of the existence of the world of Vairocana are retained, and that these one hundred and sixty monadic or substantial minds are nothing other than the *bodhicitta* (the mind of enlightenment) as is shown in the axiom '*prajñā* plus *upāya* is *bodhicitta*' (see p. 180). This constitutes the world of Vairocana as Buddhaguhya rightly says:

> "One hundred and sixty mundane minds etc. are the material cause (*upādāna-kāraṇa*) of Vairocana".(31)

Furthermore, we notice that the idea of one hundred and sixty minds makes the meaning of the maxim 'recognize your mind truly and thoroughly' clear. This maxim is commanding us to live our entire life of 'the three great uncountable aeons' (三大阿僧祇劫) completely through the incessant effort of recognizing our own one hundred and sixty minds at every moment and overcoming them through actions for the benefit of others.

The total structure of human mind thus being reconstructed, it becomes obvious that the world of Vairocana is to be expressed in a globular form composed of all the lives of all living beings; that is, the accumulations of innumerable layers of one hundred and sixty minds, concentrated toward their common aim, Vairocana as the centre of the world.

(31) *Peking*. Vol. 77, 121-1-1; 239-5-2.

As is already shown by both Buddhaguhya and Śubhakarasiṁha, the vertical process of the progress of mind, which is the process of decreasing the defilements or obstructions of each layer of one hundred and sixty minds, is divided into nine stages. It is reasonable to divide the entire process into ten layers by placing one more layer of one hundred and sixty minds which are completely purified upon these nine layers as Kūkai describes in his *Himitsu-maṇḍala-jūjūshin-ron* (秘密曼荼羅十住心論) as follows:

> "The process of the progress of mind is to be divided into innumerable stages; however, we would like to divide it for convenience' sake into ten and classify innumerable minute stages of mind into these ten big classes."(32)

If we try to draw the figure of this world on a plane, it is convenient to add two more layers of one hundred and sixty minds completely purified upon these ten layers and depict them schematically as twelve concentric circles with the diameter of the central circle the same in width as each of the twelve layers (fig. 1).

The *Maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*
the centre: *saṁbhoga-kāya* of Vairocana
the entire: *dharma-kāya* of Vairocana

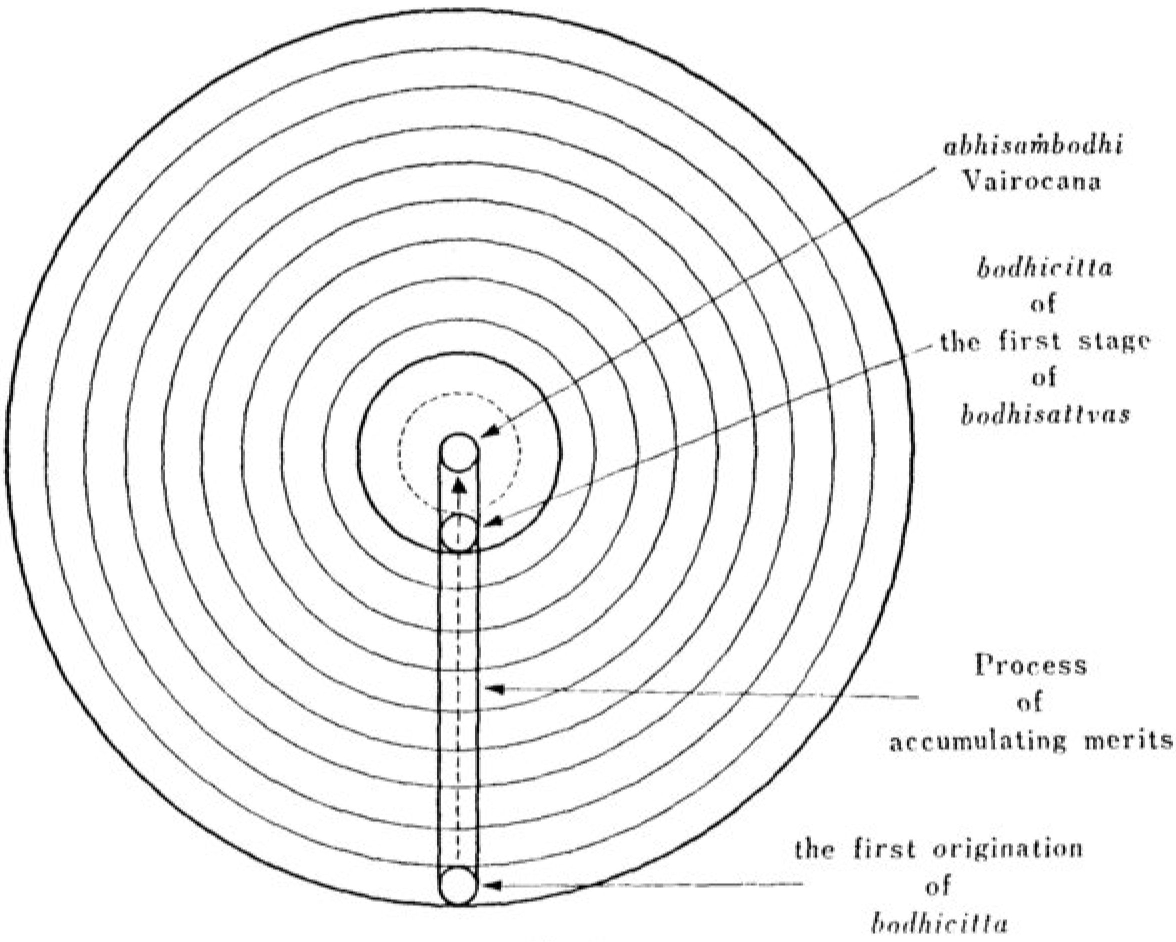


Fig. 1

(32) 住心雖無量. 且舉十綱攝之衆毛. *Taisho*. No. 2425, Vol. 77, p. 303, c, l. 27 f.

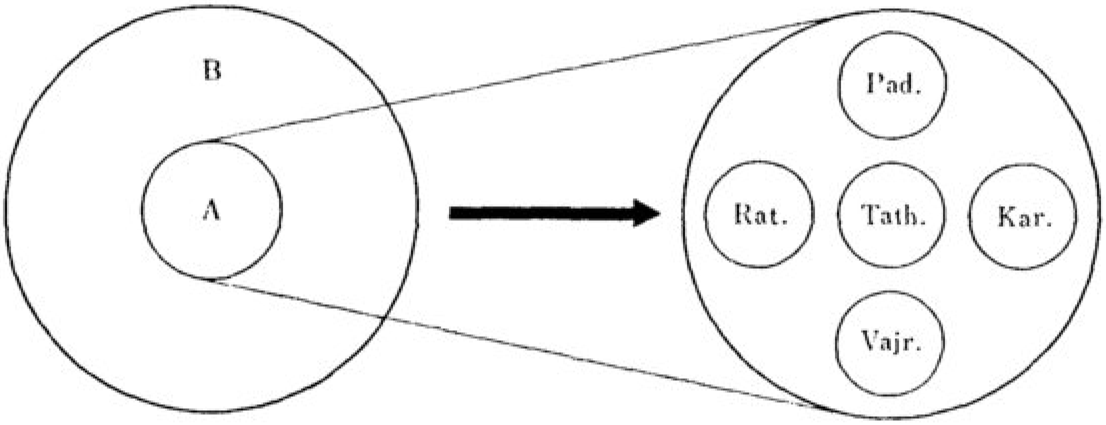
If we draw a small circle of the same diameter as the width of each layer on the outermost layer of these concentric circles and connect it with two parallel lines with the central circle, we can indicate the entire course of the life of a person who lives in this world of Vairocana. Or, we can express it as a line of twelve small circles set between these parallel lines. The small circle, which indicates the mind of a person at any moment as the aggregate of one hundred and sixty monadic minds, decreases in darkness and increases in brightness as it ascends in its course toward the centre i. e. Vairocana. When it reaches the tenth layer, it becomes completely pure. This state is called 'the first course of the realm where the truth is realized' (初法明道), and is mentioned in the *sūtra* as follows:

"O the chief of *guhyakas*! This is called the entrance into the completely purified mind of enlightenment of the *bodhisattvas*. This is the entrance into the realm where the truth is realized. This is the first course of the realm where the truth is realized. The *bodhisattvas*, who have reached this stage, will be able to attain the trance (*samādhi* 三昧) of exterminating all the obstructions of minds without difficulty. Consequently, attaining this *samādhi*, these *bodhisattvas* will be able to meet with all the *tathāgatas* in the same assembly and will be able to acquire five kinds of supernatural faculties (*abhijñā* 神通). They will acquire mystical charms (*dhāraṇī* 陀羅尼) composed of infinite words, syllables and sounds. They will understand the intentions of living beings. They, being overpowered by all the *tathāgatas*, will come to acquire the truth which will never be ruined in the transmigration. They will never become weary of doing actions for the benefit of living beings. They will observe good precepts even if they are not instituted. Having abandoned the wrong view completely, they will attain the right view and understand it. O the chief of *guhyaka*! In the next place, the *bodhisattvas* who stay in this trance of exterminating all the obstructions will complete all the truths of *buddhas* without difficulty as they are equipped with the power of confidence (信解力) originated within them. O the chief of *guhyakas*! Concisely speaking, these sons or daughters of noble families will acquire infinite merits".(33)

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(33) gsaṅ ba paḥi bdag po ḥdi ni byaṅ chub sems dpaḥi byaṅ chub kyi sems rnam par dag paḥi sgo shes bya ba / *chos snaṅ* baḥi sgo chos snaṅ baḥi tshul daṅ po ste / gaṅ la gnas na byaṅ chub sems dpaḥ rnams tshegs chuṅ ṅus sgrib pa thams cad spoṅ baḥi tiṅ ṅe ḥdsin thob ciṅ / de thob pas byaṅ chub sems dpaḥ rnams saṅs rgyas *thams cad daṅ* lhan cig ḥgrogs pa ḥthab par ḥgyur / mṅon par śes pa lṅa dag kyaṅ ḥthob par ḥgyur / skad daṅ sgra daṅ dbyaṅs mthaḥ yas paḥi gzuṅs kyaṅ ḥthob par ḥgyur / sems can gyi bsam pa rjes su śes pa daṅ / de bshin gśegs pa thams cad kyis byin gyis brlabs śiṅ ḥkhor ba na yoṅs su mi ñams paḥi chos can du ḥgyur / sems can gyi don bya ba dag la yoṅs su mi skyo bar ḥgyur / ḥdus ma byas kyi tshul khrims la rab tu gnas pa daṅ / lòg par lta ba rnam par spaṅs pa daṅ / yaṅ dag par

As is known from this quotation, the inner part of the tenth circle of these concentric circles indicates the ideal realm of the world of Vairocana and is thought to correspond to the palace of Vairocana, "the palace of the grand adamantine sphere of the reality" (大金剛法界宮) mentioned at the beginning of the *sūtra* (see p. 177). Therefore, we can divide the world or *maṇḍala* of Vairocana into two parts (fig. 2): the inner circle (A) which corresponds to the centre and two inner layers of fig. 1 and does not contain any differences of quality or brightness, and the outer circle (B) which corresponds to the outer nine layers of fig. 1 and contains differences of quality or brightness. This inner circle (A) only is adopted by the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*. Here it becomes the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* composed of five *buddhas* or five families of *buddhas*, the first expression of the Tantric image of the world of the ultimate reality (fig. 2).



The *Maṇḍala* of The *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*
A: the realm of truth
the stage of wisdom (*jñāna-bhūmi*)
B: the realm of process

The *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* composed of the five families of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*

Fig. 2

The outer circle (B) of the *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* having been discarded, the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* contains no part representing the realm of people who are on the process of gradual promotion. What is needed for the people of the Tantric world is not the strenuous efforts of accumulating two kinds of merits, *viz.* moral and intellectual, but an 'easy' yogic practice of uniting themselves with the ultimate reality which appears high in the sky as the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*.

In the next chapter, we would like to observe the Tantric view of the world, expressed in the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*, which is in every aspect anti-

lta ba rtogs par khoṅ du chud par ḥgyur ba yin no // gsaṅ ba paḥi bdag po / gshan yaṅ sgrib pa thams cad spoṅ baḥi tiṅ ṅe ḥdsin ḥdi la gnas paḥi byaṅ chub sems dpaḥ ni / mos paḥi stobs bskyed pas / tshegs chuṅ ṅus saṅs rgyas kyi chos thams cad yoṅs su rdsogs par byed de / gsaṅ ba paḥi bdag po / mdor na rigs kyi bu ḥam rigs kyi bu mo de ni yon tan dpag tu med pa daṅ ldan par ḥgyur ro // *Peking*. Vol. 5, 241-3-8∼4-5.

thetical to the Mahāyānic view of the world shown in the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* discussed in this chapter.

III. The Tantric View of the World and the Logic of *Yoga*

i. The Tantric Scenes of Attaining Enlightenment

First of all, we would like to pick up, from the Sanskrit text, the essential context of the opening part of the mystical drama which represents the image of the world of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* as follows:

(1) evaṁ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye (2) bhagavān ...... (3) mahākṛpāvairocanaḥ ...... (4) sarvatathāgatādhyuṣita- ......akaniṣṭhadevarājasya bhavane vijahāra / (5) navanavatibhir bodhisattvakoṭibhiḥ sārdhaṁ / ...... (6) gaṅgānadīvālukāsamākhyātaiś ca tathāgatais tad yathāpi nāma tilabimbam iva paripūrṇaṁ jambūdvīpe saṁdṛśyate / ...... (7) atha bhagavān mahāvairocanaḥ sarvākāśadhātusadāvasthitakāyavākcittavajraḥ / (8) sarvatathāgatasamavasaraṇatayā sarvavajradhātvavabodhanajñānasattvaḥ / ...... (15) ...... jñānaṁ ...... sarvatathāgataḥ || ...... vairocano ...... (17) bhagavān mahābodhicittaḥ samantabhadro mahābodhisattvaḥ sarvatathāgatakāyeṣu vijahāra || atha sarvatathāgatair idaṁ buddhakṣetraṁ tad yathā tilabimbam iva paripūrṇam /[34]

"(1) Thus have I heard at one time. (2) The Reverend Lord ...... (3) Vairocana of great compassion ...... (4) dwelt in the palace of the king of the deities of the uppermost stratum of the region of forms (色究竟天王宮) resided in by all the *tathāgatas* .... (5) Together with ninety-nine *koṭis* (倶胝) of *bodhisattvas* ...... (6) and *tathāgatas* to be counted by (the number of) the sands of the River *Gaṅgā*, he appeared in the *Jambūdvīpa* Continent filling (it) as (sesame seeds fill) a sesame husk. ......

(7) At that time, the Reverend Lord Mahāvairocana, who is the adamantine (aggregate of) body, speech and mind which perpetually resides pervading the whole sphere of the sky, (8) who is, as the complete aggregate of all the *tathāgatas* (一切如來), the being of the wisdom (智慧薩埵) which makes people aware of the whole of the adamantine realm (金剛界) ...... (15) ...... who is the wisdom itself ......, who is the one and whole *tathāgata* (一切如來) ......, who is Vairocana, ... (17) the Reverend Lord, the great mind of enlightenment (大菩提心), the great *bodhisattva* Samantabhadra (普賢大菩薩), dwelt in the hearts of all the *tathāgatas* (一切如來).

(34) Sanskrit text edit. by K. Horiuchi, 1~17.

Now, this district of the *buddha* was filled with all the *tathāgatas* as (sesame seeds fill) a sesame husk."

It is obvious that this "palace of the king of the deities of the uppermost stratum of the region of forms" (*akaniṣṭhadevarājasya bhavana* (色究竟天王宮) corresponds to "the palace of the grand adamantine sphere of the reality" (大金剛法界宮) of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* (see p. 196). It is to be noticed, however, that the former is limited to the uppermost stratum of the region of forms (*akaniṣṭhadeva* 色究竟天) which is a kind of space and is at the same time a stage of deepness of meditation, while the latter is the unlimited sphere of the reality (*dharmadhātu* 法界).

Here, the ultimate reality is expressed as the substantial aggregate of all the *tathāgatas*. The word *sarvatathāgata* (一切如来) is essential to an understanding of the image of the world of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*. When it is used in the singular, it means Vairocana Tathāgata who is the central deity of the *maṇḍala*. When it is used in the plural, it means all of the inumerable *tathāgatas* filling the whole world. These *tathāgatas* as an aggregate constitute a substantial matrix called "the adamantine sphere" (*vajradhātu* 金剛界) or the world of reality. Thirdly, the word *sarvatathāgata* is used in the plural or in the singular indicating the five *buddhas* or each of five *buddhas* who constitute the whole *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* as representatives of all of the innumerable *tathāgatas*. In accord with the way of thinking found in the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*, if A represents a group B, A is nothing other than B. Therefore, the five *tathāgatas* as five *sarvatathāgatas* are nothing other than all the innumerable *tathāgatas*. This process of thinking was indispensable as the ultimate reality of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* had to be limited and made visible as the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of five *tathāgatas* so as to enable people living in this world Jambūdvīpa to imitate it homologously and unite themselves with it on the basis of the Tantric logic of yoga (see p. 171).

The world of reality itself is theistically called Mahāvairocana; and in correspondence to the idea of the *dharmakāya* of Vairocana in the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, it exists perpetually. However, when it was located in "the palace of the king of the deities of the uppermost stratum of the region of forms", it was the reality yet to be limited and was not manifested to people living in the Jambūdvīpa. There, it was a kind of imaginary or ideal existence as is assumed from the expression "dwelt in the hearts of all the *tathāgatas*".

The second scene of this mystic drama is laid in this world of Jambūdvīpa. Vairocana who descended from the Akaniṣṭha heaven shows himself for a moment as Śākyamuni Tathāgata on the earth.

Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi (一切義成就菩薩), that is, Śākyamuni immediately before the attainment of enlightenment, having completed entirely the necessary process of accumulating two kinds of merits, *viz.* moral and intel-

lectual, was sitting on the seat of enlightenment (*bodhimaṇḍa* 菩提道場) and was absorbed in the trance of no movement (*āsphānaka-samādhi* 無動三昧), having stopped all the movements of his body, speech and mind and even having stopped breathing. All the *tathāgatas* make their appearance to the *bodhisattva* and awaken him with the following words:

> *kathaṁ kulaputrānuttarāṁ samyaksaṁbodhim abhisambhotsyase yas tvaṁ sarvatathāgatatattvānabhijñatayā sarvaduḥkarāṇy utsahasīti* ‖[35]
> "O son of a noble family! How can you attain the highest and complete enlightenment, you who are enduring all kinds of difficult deeds (難行) without knowing the truth of all the *tathāgatas*?"

The *bodhisattva*, recovering self-consciousness and coming back from the trance, asks the *tathāgatas* the way to attain the truth and the proposition of the truth itself as follows:

> *bhagavantas tathāgatā ājñāpayata kathaṁ pratipadyāmi kidṛśaṁ tattvam iti* ‖
> "O Reverend Lord! Tell me, how and what kind of truth shall I attain?"[36]

All the *tathāgatas*, accordingly, teach him the so-called 'five-stepped process of attaining enlightenment (*pañcākārābhisaṁbodhi-krama* 五相成身觀). The *bodhisattva* practises as he was taught and attains the highest and complete enlightenment on the spot and becomes Vajradhātu Tathāgata (金剛界如來). Here we notice that the Mahāyānic ideal of strenuous effort (難行), which had been proposed by the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, was surpassed by the awakening words abovementioned. Thus, the Tantric ideal of quick attainment of enlightenment through the easy practice (易行) of *yoga* was declared on the basis of a clear methodical consciousness.

The method of attaining "the truth of all the *tathāgatas*", that is, the ultimate truth is shown here, and the *bodhisattva* Sarvārthasiddhi actually attained the ultimate truth by this method. Therefore, we can observe the ultimate truth itself and the method of attaining the truth in his 'five-stepped process of ataining enlightenment'.

Each of five steps constituting the whole process are composed of the following three factors:

(a) a step of instruction for observing the truth given by all the *tathāgatas*.
(b) a *mantra* (mystical spell) which can be substituted for (a).
(c) Sarvārthasiddhi's perception of the truth shown in a concrete, symbolic figure as the result of (b).

(35) Horiuchi's text, 18.
(36) Horiuchi, *ibid*. 19.

For example, the passage which corresponds with the first step, *viz.* so-called 'piercing into the mind of enlightenment' (通達菩提心) is described as follows:

evam ukte sarvatathāgatās taṁ bodhisattvam ekakaṇṭhenaivam āhuḥ / pratipadyasva kulaputra svacittapratyavekṣaṇasamādhānena prakṛtisiddhena rucijaptena mantreṇeti //

Oṁ cittaprativedhaṁ karomi //

atha bodhisattvaḥ sarvatathāgatān evam āha / ājñātaṁ me bhagavantas tathāgatāḥ svahṛdi candramaṇḍalākāraṁ paśyāmi /[37]

"When (the *bodhisattva*) asked (the question) abovementioned, all the *tathāgatas* told the *bodhisattva* in unison as follows:

'Attain (the mind of enlightenment first) through the meditation of observing your own mind carefully, by reciting the following *mantra*, as many times as you like, the efficacy of which is established by nature.

Oṁ cittaprativedhaṁ karomi

(*Oṁ* I will pierce my mind into its bottom.)

Then, the *bodhisattva* said to all the tathāgatas as follows:

'I was taught. O Reverend *Tathāgatas*! I see the appearance of the lunar disk on my heart.'

Here, we must notice first the fact that *svacittapratyavekṣaṇasamādhānena* and *prakṛtisiddhena rucijaptena mantreṇa* are appositional. The word *pratyavekṣaṇa* instantly reminds us the process of observing each of the one hundred and sixty monadic minds individually as we have explained in the previous chapter. In the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, one was able to "pierce one's own mind to its bottom" and attain the completely purified mind of enlightenment only by completing the entire process of accumulating "infinite materials of both meritorious deeds and knowledge for an unimaginably long period of hundreds of thousands of millions of innumerable aeons" (see p. 181). Here, however, the *mantra* "*Oṁ* I will pierce my mind into the bottom" replaces the entire process. This is not astonishing, however, for a Tantrist, for the simple reason that a *mantra* has such a miraculous efficacy by nature (*prakṛtisiddha*). The laborious process of promoting one's own mind by observing layers of one hundred and sixty monadic minds incessantly and by overcoming them through actual deeds for the benefit of others, which continues for nearly eternal period of the three great uncountable aeons, was thus replaced by an easy practice of simply reciting a *mantra* as many times as one likes. Here, even *upāya*, our direct and actual exertions for the benefit of others, was replaced by a symbolical deed, not to speak of *prajñā*, a mental operation of observing the essencelessness (*śūyatā* 空性). Herein we find a criti-

(37) Horiuchi, *ibid.* 20～21.

cal turning point from Mahāyāna Buddhism or especially the *Vairocanābhi-saṁbodhi-sūtra* to Tantrism.

In addition, the attainment of the mind of enlightenment is depicted symbolically here through the appearance of the lunar disk on the heart. This means that, if one can manipulate the symbolic figure which appears in his mind in meditation, one can conversely control the world of reality through it. This idea of controlling the world of reality through the manipulation of symbols is represented in the five-stepped process of attaining enlightenment which can be summarized according to the three factors above-mentioned as follows:(38)

I. The step of piercing into the mind of enlightenment (通達菩提心).
   (a) "Attain (the mind of enlightenment first) through the meditation of observing your mind carefully."
   (b) *Oṁ cittaprativedhaṁ karomi.*
   (*Oṁ* I will pierce my mind to its bottom.)
   (c) "I see the appearance of the lunar disk on my heart."

II. The step of realizing the mind of enlightenment (修菩提心).
   (a) "(Your) mind (thus imagined) is (nothing but the universal mind) shining by its own nature (*prkṛtiprabhāsvara* 自性清浄)."
   (b) *Oṁ bodhicittam utpādayāmi*
   (*Oṁ* I will make the mind of enlightenment arise.)
   (c) Sarvārthasiddhi actually made the mind of enlightenment arise through reciting the *mantra* (b) which is by nature efficient. He says: "I see that the appearance of the lunar disk is nothing but the lunar disk itself."

III. The step of realizing the adamantine mind (修金剛心).
   (a) "This is the heart of all the *tathāgatas* for you. You actually made your mind of Samantabhadra (普賢心) arise. So as to make this arisen mind firm, you should imagine the figure of a *vajra*-pestle in the lunar disk of your heart through reciting following *mantra*."
   (b) *Oṁ tiṣṭha vajra.*
   (*Oṁ* Stand up! O Vajra!)
   (c) "I see the *vajra*-pestle in the lunar disk."

IV. The step of realizing the adamantine body 修金剛身).
   (a) "Make this adamantine mind of Samantabhadra (which is composed) of all the *tathāgatas* firm through the following *mantra*."
   (b) *Oṁ vajrātmako 'ham.*
   (*Oṁ* I am of the essence of the adamant.)

(38) Horiuchi, *ibid.* 20～29.

(c) The whole adamantine sphere (*vajradhātu* 金剛界) composed of the bodies, speeches and minds of all the *tathāgatas* pervading the whole sphere of the sky enters into this adamantine existence (*sattvavajra* 薩埵金剛) (of the *bodhisattva* Sarvārthasiddhi) through the benefit of all the *tathāgatas*. He is invested by all the *tathāgatas* with the consecratory name 'Vajradhātu' (金剛界). He says: "O Reverend Tathāgatas! I see myself as the body (composed) of all the *tathāgatas*."

V. The step of the body of a *buddha* ***completed*** (佛身円滿).

(a) "Imagine yourself as 'the adamantine existence' (*sattvavajra*) which is equipped with all the most excellent aspects (of the whole universe) and (at the same time) the figure of a *buddha* (as the centre of the universe)."

(b) *Oṁ yathā sarvatathāgatās tathāham.*
(*Oṁ* As all the *tathāgatas* are, so am I.)

(c) Thus, Vajradhātu Bodhisattva attains the highest and complete enlightenment.

Here, with this fifth *mantra*, "the truth of all the *tathāgatas*", that is, the ultimate truth is indicated. This *mantra* is nothing other than the universal formula through which anyone can attain enlightenment quickly and easily within his very lifetime (*ihaiva janmani*). As was mentioned above (see p. 171), this formula was interpreted by the subsequent Tantrists as follows:

"If the individual existence and the ultimate reality are homologous, they are one and the same."

therefore:

"If the individual existence successfully reorganizes itself to be homologous with the ultimate reality, the former can unite itself with the latter."

This is what we call 'the logic of Tantrism' or 'the logic of *yoga*'. This entire process of five steps itself provides an example of this logic. As the *bodhisattva* Sarvārthasiddhi recited the fourth *mantra* "*Oṁ vajrātmako 'ham*" (*Oṁ* I am of the essence of the adamant), which controls the world of reality, the entire adamantine sphere (*vajradhātu* 金剛界), the ultimate reality itself, entered into "the adamantine existence" which is the symbolic representation imagined in his mind. Thus, "the adamantine existence" was completed as a symbolic system representing the adamantine sphere in miniature. Then, he imagines himself as identical with this symbol which is "equipped with all the most excellent aspects" (*sarvākāravaropetaṁ*). It is to be noted that the word *sarvākāravaropetaṁ* refers to the *dharmakāya* of a *buddha* or the whole world of reality, while the word *buddhabimbam* ("equipped with the figure of a *buddha*") refers to a *buddha* of *saṁbhogakāya* (the body of enjoyment)

which is the centre of the world and is equipped with thirty-two *lakṣaṇas* (三十二相) and eighty *anuvyañjanas* (八十種好). Recitation of the fifth *mantra* "*Oṁ yathā sarvatathāgatās tathāham*" (*Oṁ* as all the *tathāgatas* are, so am I) makes him realize that he himself is homologous with, and therefore identical with the aggregate of all the *tathāgatas* or the entire adamantine sphere as he is identical with the symbolic figure which is the miniature of the adamantine sphere. Thus, he, while retaining the individual "figure" as the centre of the world, becomes the entire world of reality itself. In this manner, he, the individual existence, successfully united himself with the ultimate reality through the catalytic action of "the adamantine existence", a system of symbols constructed mechanically through the recitation of *mantras* and the imagination of symbolic figures. After this, anyone can reorganize himself mechanically through reciting *mantras* and imagining symbolic figures into a symbolic system which is homologous with the ultimate reality, and consequently unite himself easily and quickly with the ultimate reality. Thus, the secret of the quick attainent of enlightenment was revealed.

The *bodhisattva* Sarvārthasiddhi attained enlightenment in this manner and became Vajradhātu Tathāgata (金剛界如來) who was concurrently Śākyamuni Buddha who attained enlightenment on the seat of enlightenment *bodhi-maṇḍa* 菩提道場) under a *bodhi*-tree on the bank of the River Nairañjanā in the suburbs of Gayā. As soon as Sarvārthasiddhi became the *buddha*, all the *tathāgatas* led him away from this world to "the pavillion with the pinnacle of adamantine jewel" (*vajramaṇiratnaśikharakūṭāgāra* 金剛摩尼寶頂樓閣) situated on the top of Mt. Sumeru in order to enthrone him as the creator of the whole universe (*viśvakarman*) as the representative (*sarvatathāgata*, sg.) of all the *tathāgatas* (*sarvatathāgata*, pl.).

In the third scene of this mystical drama, all the *tathāgatas* arriving at the palace nominate Vajradhātu Tathāgata, that is, Vairocana for the position of their representative making him ascend the lion-seat as the representative of all the *tathāgatas* (*sarvatathāgatasiṁhāsana*) and sit on the throne facing in all the directions.

Subsequently, the four *tathāgatas, viz. Akṣobhya* (阿閦), Ratnasaṁbhava (寶生), Lokeśvararāja (世自在王) and Amoghasiddhi (不空成就) nominate themselves for the position of representatives (*sarvatathāgata*) of all of the innumerable *tathāgatas* and sit on all sides of "the Reverend Lord Sākyamuni Tathāgata". Thus, the five *tathāgatas* constituting the adamantine sphere were selected.

According to the Tantric way of thinking, 'when A represents a group B, A is identical with the whole of B'. Therefore, these five *tathāgatas* are nothing other than all of the innumerable *tathāgatas* filling the whole world of reality. In other words, the ultimate reality, with Śākyamuni Buddha as its nucleus, appears itself as the aggregate of five *tathāgatas*. Just as a transparent solution gels when a drop of reagent is added, as the process of self-

realization progresses further, the ultimate reality makes its appearance finally as the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of thirty-seven deities high above the world of human beings.

We can illustrate this process of self-realization of "the adamantine sphere" as follows (fig. 3):

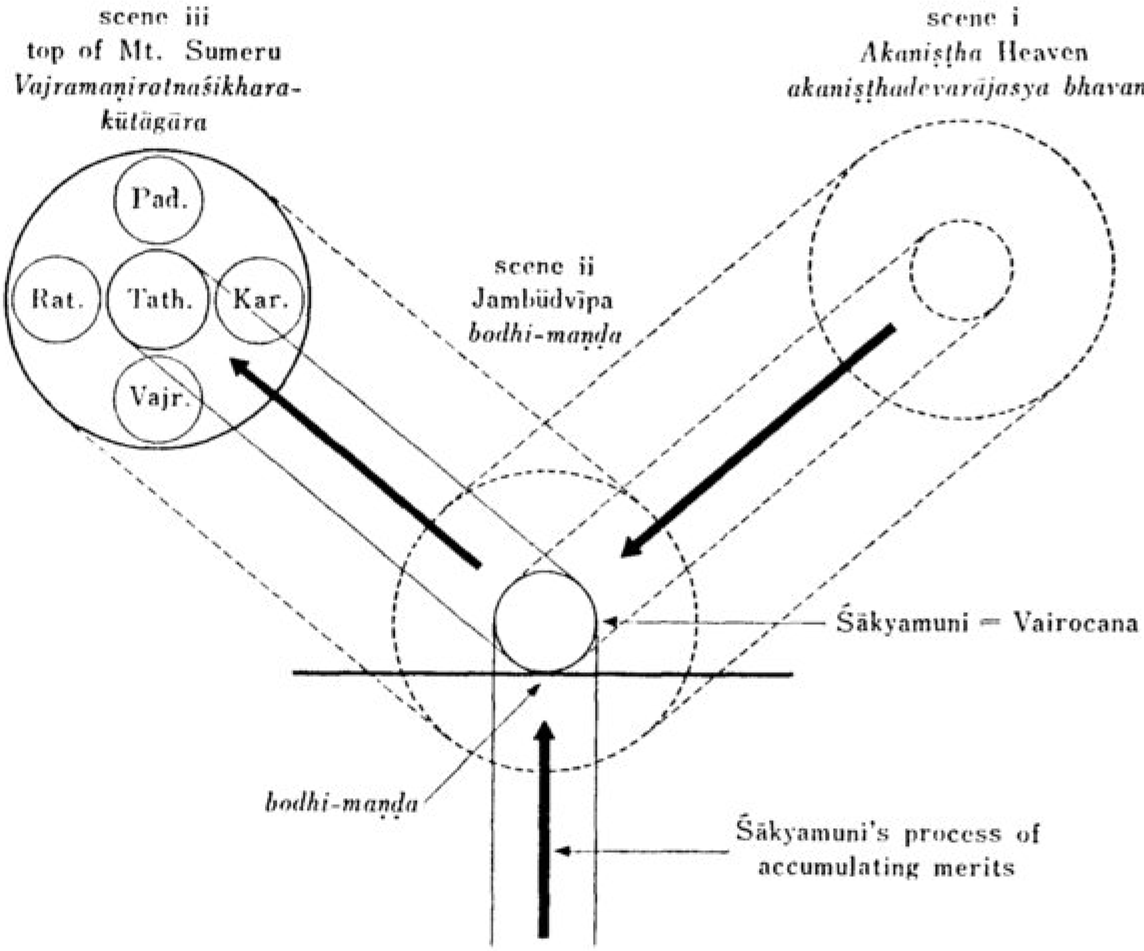


Fig. 3

"The adamantine sphere", the world of reality as the aggregate of all the innumerable *tathāgatas* can be expressed by two concentric circles. The inner circle corresponds to the central circle of the *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* (fig. 1) and represents Vairocana Tathāgata. The outer circle corresponds to the centre and inner two layers of fig. 1 or the inner circle (A) of fig. 2 within which there is no difference of brightness. When this "adamantine sphere" is situated on "the palace of the king of the Akaniṣṭha deities" (*akaniṣṭhadevarājasya bhavana*) (scene i.), these two circles are drawn with dotted lines as the sphere has not yet made its appearance to us existing on earth. When Śākyamuni Buddha, who can also be represented by the central circle of fig. 1, appears on the earth after completing the process of accumulating merits over the three great uncountable aeons, the concentric circles of "the adamantine sphere" descend from the Akaniṣṭha heaven, its inner circle overlapping with the circle of Śākyamuni is solidified and Vairocana, who is an imaginary or ideal being in the Akaniṣṭha heaven, is actualized

for the first time when he descends to the earth synchronously with Śākyamuni's attainment of enlightenment (scene ii.).

The world of reality which has descended to the earth springs up to the top of Mt. Sumeru in the next moment and disappears from the earth. Here at "the pavillion with the pinnacle of adamantine jewel" (scene iii.), the world of reality actualizes itself as the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, *viz.* the aggregate of five *tathāgatas* or five families of *tathāgatas*. Only when "the adamantine sphere" as the aggregate of all the innumerable *tathāgatas* is concretized as the aggregate of five *tathāgatas*, can we imagine it and make ourselves homologous with is through the manipulation of symbols.

Here, it must again be noted that this *maṇḍala* of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* does not contain any distinctions of brightness and that for us who live on earth it exists externally. Homogenuity and externality are the two special features of the *maṇḍala* of the religion of *yogins* or sitting meditators who attempt to unite themselves with the external absolute through the yogic practice.

ii. The New Concept of Quick Attainment of Enlightenment

Having noted this process of the self-development of "the adamantine sphere" which descends from the Akaniṣṭha heaven to the earth and springs up in the next moment to the top of Mt. Sumeru just like a ball bounded on the floor, we may possibly interpret the image of the world of the *Tattva-saṁgraha-tantra* in the same way as we interpreted the world of the *Vairo-canābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, attaching importance to our world, Jambūdvīpa.

Sākyamuni appeared on the earth as a *buddha* after completing "all kinds of difficult deeds" over the period of the three great uncountable aeons. By becoming a *buddha*, he made himself the nucleus of "the adamantine sphere", and made "the adamantine sphere" which had existed as *dynamis* or as an ideal or possible being actual in its turn as the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* composed of five *tathāgatas* or five families of *tathāgatas*. "The adamantine sphere" or the universal *buddha* Mahāvairocana perpetually exists pervading the whole universe, but it is not significant for us until it actualizes itself as a *maṇḍala* visible to us. 5,670,000,000 years subsequent to Śākyamuni, Maitreya Buddha will appear on earth, make himself Vairocana, the centre of the world of reality, and thereby cause the world of reality, the universal *buddha* Mahā-vairocana to shine forth. Similarly, innumerable *buddhas* will appear on the earth (Jambūdvīpa) one after another, and Vairocana will continue shining at the centre of the universe. We also in our turn, after completing the process of accumulating two kinds of merits over the period of the three great uncountable aeons, will appear on earth as *buddhas* and cause the world of reality to shine forth. Therefore, everyone of us is responsible for the existence of the world of reality and is requested to continue incessantly both

moral and intellectual efforts for the sake of others and ourselves.

This romantic interpretation is not untenable. In fact, the thousand *buddhas* of this aeon (*bhadrakalpa* 賢劫) are waiting for the time when they will attain enlightenment and make the whole *maṇḍala* shine forth as the centre of the world of reality. On the other hand, however, a completely new method of attaining enlightenment is also presented here. The Mahāyānic ideal of attaining enlightenment through difficult deeds has been rejected by the awakening words abovementioned (see p. 199), the meaning of which is as follows:

> "If you do not know the truth of the universe, you can not attain enlightenment even thought you complete the entire process of accumulating merits over the three great uncountable aeons."

One can attain enlightenment not by accumulating merits but by realizing the ultimate truth which was revealed as the fifth *mantra* of the five-stepped process of attaining enlightenment (五相成身觀). Śākyamuni's actual attainment of enlightenment was not a result of the completion of the entire process of accumulating merits, but rather a result of the practice of the five-stepped process of attaining enlightenment. His accumulation of merits had nothing to do with his attainment of enlightenment structurally. In the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*, an individual existence is requested structurally to do nothing more than provide the mouth which recites *mantras*, the mind which imagines symbolic figures and the hands which bind finger-postures (*mudrā* 印契). The ultimate reality had already appeared at "the pavillion with the pinnacle of adamantine jewel" on the top of Mt. Sumeru as the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of thirty-seven deities.

The *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* mentions four kinds of *mudrās*, *viz. mahāmudrā* (大印), that is, the thirty-seven deities expressed in pictures or statues, *samayamudrā* (三昧耶印), the hand-postures expressing these deities by assuming the emblems of each of them, *dharmamudrā* (法印), that is, the *mantras* or syllables (*bīja* 種子) which indicate each of these deities and *karmamudrā* (羯摩印), hand-postures expressing actions of each of these deities. Each of these four kinds of symbols can serve as a substitute for the deities which they symbolize. The symbol is identical to the symbolized. Through the monumentous fact of Śākyamuni's attainment of enlightenment, the ultimate reality has been actualized as the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of thirty-seven deities. If one recites the five *mantras* of the five-stepped process of attaining enlightenment and imagines the transformation of the symbolic figure in one's mind, one instantly enters into the centre of the *maṇḍala* and attains enlightenment. Or if one imagines figures of thirty-seven deities in one's mind, recites *mantras* or syllables of each of these deities and binds hand-postures (*mudrā*) of them in regular succession, one can transform oneself into symbolic representation

of "the adamantine sphere" and unite oneself with it on the spot as one is completely homologous with it. Since Śākyamuni has attained enlightenment, we need not perform any deeds of accumulating merits. This is the new concept of quick attainment of enlightenment which is completely antithetical to the Mahāyānic idea of the gradual attainment of enlightenment advocated in the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*.

In the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra*, both *prajñā*, the wisdom of observing essencelessness (*śūnyatā* 空性), and *upāya*, actual deeds performed through compassion (*karuṇā* 慈悲) for the benefit of others, were indispensable in allowing a person to exist in the world of reality. Unlike *prajñā, upāya* could not be substituted by a symbol as it was actual and direct to the end. The practicer of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* very easily passed over the ridge which the Mahāyānic practicer of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* did not dare pass over, his yogic manner of thinking allowing him to do so. As we have already mentioned (see p. 168), the follower of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* is a solitary *yogin* confronting the absolute by himself. For him the actual world, society or the existence of others is of no significance. For him capabilities, ethical or religious efforts and even the friendliness and mercy towards others (慈悲), that is, the essential virtue of Mahāyāna Buddhism, are not at all necessary. This feature of Tantrism is the most clearly expressed in the following passage which mentions the adventitiousness of such capabilities as qualifications for entering the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*:

> "Then, I will show the extensive ritual of entering into the Grand *maṇḍala* of the *Vajradhātu* and other (rituals) for an adamantine disciple.
>
> First of all, the purpose of entering (into the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*) is to attain the aim of the highest accomplishment of saving all living beings of the world without remainder and without leavings, and making them all prosperous and comfortable. In this case, it should not be decided whether or not he is competent for entering into the Grand *maṇḍala*. What is the reason?
>
> O Reverend Tathāgatas! There might be some people who commit great crimes. However, once they see this Grand *maṇḍala* of the *Vajradhātu* and enter into it, they will get rid of all the crimes.
>
> O Reverend Tathāgatas! There might be some people who are covetous of all kinds of food, drink and objects of sense, who hate religious precepts (*samaya* 三昧耶) and who are not competent for preparatory rites. Nevertheless, once they enter into this (*Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*), all the desires will be fulfilled completely even for them as things are effected in conformance with their desire (in this *maṇḍala*).
>
> O Reverend Tathāgatas! There might be some people who indulge in all kinds of dances, songs, comical or lascivious dances, food and games, entering into the *maṇḍalas* of the families of heretical deities without

> realizing the truth through the clear understanding of the Mahāyāna of all the *tathāgatas*. They do not enter into the *maṇḍala* of the family of all the *tathāgatas* which is the aggregate of those which fulfill all the desires and which brings about the highest pleasure, satisfaction and joy, as they are frightened by the fear of moral precepts. For these people who face the evil *maṇḍalas*, it is suitable to enter into the Grand *maṇḍala* of the *Vajradhātu* as they can enjoy the pleasure and happiness of the highest accomplishment of all the pleasures and joys, and turn back from the way leading to all evil states.
>
> Furthermore, O Reverend Tathāgatas! There might be some virtuous people who, wishing to attain the enlightenment of a *buddha* by means of the highest accomplishment of precepts, concentration of mind and wisdom, make efforts on the (four) stages of meditation, (eight kinds of) getting rid (of attachments) and so on. Still they might be afflicted (not getting enlightenment). For them, the state of all the *tathāgatas* is not difficult to attain simply by entering into the Grand *maṇḍala* of the *Vajradhātu* on the spot, much less the other accomplishments."(39)

Thus, the new concept of quick attainment of enlightenment (卽身成佛) was declared definitely and logically as the antithesis of the Mahāyānic ideal of the gradual attainment of enlightenment through the accumulation of moral and intellectual merits. The secret of the quick attainment of enlightenment was actually presented to everyone in a logically thorough manner. However, this logical thoroughness, extreme easiness and quickness of attaining enlightenment, and the structural adventitiousness of moral and intellectual efforts, in short, all the features of this Tantric concept of quick attainment of enlightenment effected the dissolution of the religion of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* itself. When it declared "the truth of all the *tathāgatas*" or the universal formula of quick attainment of enlightenment triumphantly, it found itself standing on the brink of the dizzy precipice of nihilism. This religious vacuity undoubtedly caused great uneasiness in the minds of subsequent Tantrists and drove them to the opposite extreme. In fact, a group of Tantrists who were the orthodox inheritors of the religion of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* took as their recourse the hideous and repulsive cult of cemetery (*śmaśāna*).

IV. The Hevajra-tantra: Buddhism of Cemetery

i. The Group of *Yoginīs*: the New Matrix of Enlightenment

The most definite description of the religion of Buddhist immigrants to

(39) Horiuchi, *ibid*. 210~213.

'the cult of cemetery (*śmaśāna* 尸林)' centered on a group of *yoginīs* (*yoginī-cakra* 瑜伽女輪) can be found in a passage of the *Hevajra-tantra* (HV. I.v.4.~8.), which has been reconstructed by D.L. Snellgrove as follows:

mudrāḥ pañcakulānīti kathyate mokṣahetunā ||
vajreṇa mudryate 'nena mudrā tenābhidhīyate || (4)
Vajra Padma tathā Karma Tathāgata Ratnaiva ca ||
kulāni pañcavidhāny āhur uttamāni mahākṛpa || (5)
Vajre Ḍombī bhaven mudrā Padme Nartī tathaiva ca ||
Karmaṇi Rajaky ākhyātā Brāhmaṇī ca Tathāgate || (6)
Ratne Caṇḍālinī jñeyā pañcamudrā viniścitāḥ ||
tathāgatakulaṃ caitat saṃkṣepenābhidhīyate || (7)
tathatāyāṃ gataḥ śrīmān āgataś ca tathaiva ca ||
anayā prajñayā yuktyā tathāgato 'bhidhīyate || (8)[40]

"(4) In order that one may gain release, these Mudrā are identified with the Five Families. She is called Mudrā or Sign, because she is signed with the Vajra.

(5) Vajra, Padma, Karma, Tathāgata, Ratna; these are known as the Five Families supreme, O thou of great compassion. (6 and 7) These then are their five Mudrā: Ḍombī for Vajra, Nartī for Padma, Rajakī for Karma, Brāhmaṇī for Tathāgata, and Caṇḍālinī for Ratna. For short, they are called the families of the *tathāgatas*. (8) He enters supreme reality, he the Blessed One, and comes just as he went, and so on account of this play on words, it's as *Tathāgata* he's known."[41]

However, this reconstruction, especially verse 6, the essential part of this passage, is difficult to support on the basis of the manuscripts[42] we have examined thus far. We would reconstruct it as follows:

(40) D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra A Critical Study*. Part II, p. 16.
(41) Snellgrove, *ibid*. Part II, p. 61.
(42) MS belonging to the University of Tokyo, No. 511 (dated 1595 A.D.)
vajraṁ ḍombī bhavet mudrā padmaṁ tti tathaiva ca /
katma rajakī sadākhyātā brahmaṇī ca tathāgatī / (11b. 2~3)
MS belonging to the University of Tokyo, No. 509 (dated 1830 A.D.)
vajraṁ ḍāmbī bhavyan mudrā padma narttī tathaiva ca /
karmma rajakī sadākhyātā brāhmanī ca tathāgatī || (8a. 1~2)
MS belonging to the University of Tokyo, No. 512 (dated 1844 A.D.)
vajraṁ ḍombī bhaven mudrā padman narttī tathaiva ca /
karma rajakī sadākhyātā brāhmaṇī ca tathāgatī / (9b. 6~10a. 1)
MS belonging to the University of Tokyo, No. 510 (not dated)
vajraṁ ḍombī bhaven mudrā padmaṁ nattī tathaiva ca /
karmma raṁjakī (?) *samākhyātā brāhmaṇī ca tathāgata* || (7b. 5~6)
MS belonging to the University of Kyoto, No. 2252787 (dated 1911 A.D.)
vajra ḍombī bhaven mudrā padma narttī tathaiva ca ||
karma rajakī samākhyātā brāhmṇṇī ca tathāgatī || (8a. 8~8b. 1)

mudrāḥ pañcakulānīti kathyate mokṣahetunā /
vajreṇa mudryate 'nena mudrā tenābhidhīyate ||4||
vajrapadmaṁ tathā karma tathāgataṁ ratnam eva ca /
kulāni pañcavidhāny āhur uttamāni mahākṛpa ||5||
vajraṁ ḍombī bhaven mudrā padmaṁ nartī tathaiva ca /
karma rajakī samākhyātā brāhmaṇī ca tathāgatī ||6||
ratnaṁ caṇḍālinī jñeyā pañcamudrā viniścitāḥ /
tathāgatakulaṁ caitat saṁkṣepenābhidhīyate ||7||
tathatāyā gataḥ śrīmān āgataś ca tathaiva ca /
anayā prajñayā yuktyā tathāgato 'bhidhīyate ||8||

This reconstruction offers a clear vision of a new stage of Tantric Buddhism which has overcome successfully the unrealistic or ideal character of the religion of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* and has recovered religious 'substantiality' on the basis of the psychological and physiological strain experienced during the hideous and, at the same time, enchanting cults of the group of *yoginīs*. We can translate this passage as follows:

"The fact that the five *mudrās* (which constitute the group of *yoginīs*) are nothing other than the five families (of *tathāgatas* constituting the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*(43)) is declared to be the cause of (attaining) liberation. She (that is, a *yoginī*) is called *mudrā* or sign as she is signed with an adamant (*vajra*) (4).

Vajra, Padma, Karma, Tathāgata and Ratna are said to be the five highest kinds of families, O you of great compassion (5)!

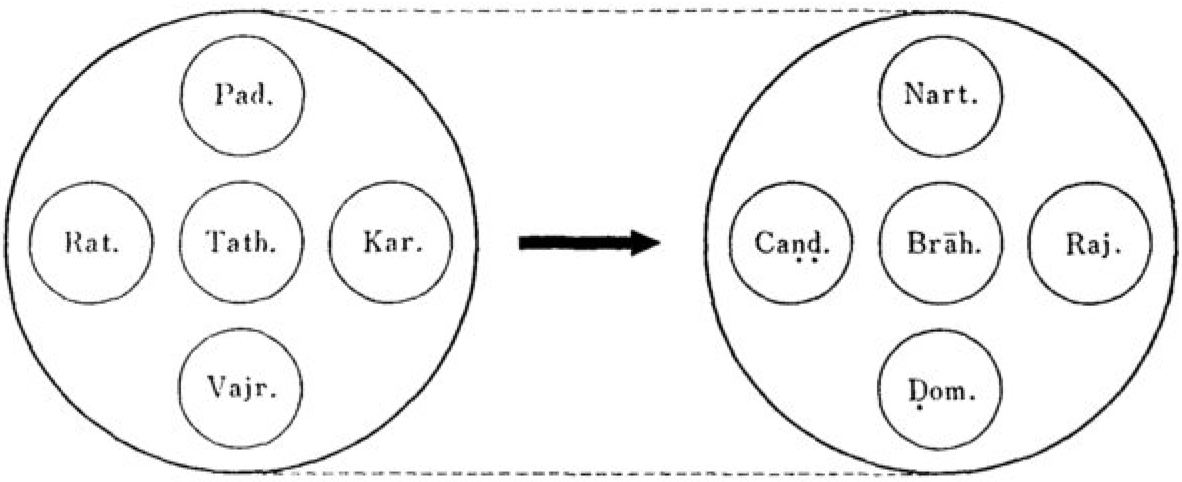
The *mudrā* Ḍombī is (nothing other than) the Vajra (-family), and likewise, (the *mudrā*) Nartī is (nothing other than) the Padma (-family). (The *mudrā*) Rajakī is said to be (nothing other than) the Karma (-family), and (the *mudrā*) Brāhmaṇī is (the *mudrā* who is nothing other than) the Tathāgata (-family) (6).

Caṇḍālinī is known to be (nothing other than) the Ratna (-family). (Thus,) five families are set down. In short, (the whole of) this (world of reality which is the aggregate of these five *mudrās* or five families) is (nothing other than the centre of the world i.e.) the Tathāgata-family (7). (The Lord Hevajra), the auspicious one, who has gone to reality (*tathatā*), and who has come back from (the reality) is called *tathāgata* because he is united with *prajñā* (the wisdom of enlightenment which is at the same time a woman called *mudrā* or an aggregate of those *mudrās*, that is, *yoginī-cakra*) (8)."

(43) In the *Hevajra-tantra*, the *maṇḍala* is described in conformity to the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*. *yathā Tattvasaṁgrahe maṇḍalavidhis tathā kartavyaṃ* || "The *maṇḍala*-ritual should be performed as it is given in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*." HV. II. v. 57. Snellgrove, *ibid*. Part II, p. 84, Part I, p. 113.

In the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*, the ultimate reality appeared in a imaginary, mystical region of the Akaniṣṭha heaven high above the world. Practicers should have been able to unite themselves with this ultimate reality very easily and very quickly only by reciting *mantras*, binding *mudrās* (hand-postures) and imagining symbolic figures (*samaya* 三昧耶形) in the mind. Qualifications, abilities and efforts moral or intellectual were not necessary. In short, they did not have to do anything 'religious'. This complete ease of attaining enlightenment, however, caused the distinction between the enlightened state and the non-enlightened state to be minimized. Though they may attain enlightenment, they would not be able to confirm it objectively or subjectively on psychological and physiological grounds. Thus, the methodical completion of the idea of quick attainment of enlightenment in the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* resulted in 'religious vacuity'. This 'vacuity' caused strong anxiety, and this anxiety in turn drove them to another extreme; the extreme *Numinose* of the heretical cult of cemetery (*śmaśāna*). This provided a psychological strain through the hideous, sanguinary and horrible cults of a cemetery filled with a putrid smell, as well as the strong physiological stimuli of the sexual yogic practice experienced in the group of bewitching *yoginīs*. Thus they established the religion of the *Hevajra-tantra*, the characteristics of which were fully indicated in the above quotation.

In this quotation, the five families comprising the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* have been replaced with the group of five *mudrās or yoginīs* (fig. 4).



The *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* composed of five families of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*

Group of *yoginīs* (*yoginī-cakra*) of the *Hevajra-tantra*

Fig. 4

Now, "the adamantine sphere" appears not in the lofty, imaginary region of the Akaniṣṭha heaven but on earth as a group of *yoginīs* with which one can unite oneself actually through sexual yogic practice. The one and only God Hevajra who is sexually united with the group of five *yoginīs* is nothing other than the *dharmakāya* (法身, the body of the ultimate reality) of Vairo-

cana who is himself the aggregate of the five families of the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* as well as the one and only being subsuming the whole *maṇḍala*. A *buddha* in the *dharmakāya* form, constituting both the whole of the *maṇḍala* and the centre of the *maṇḍala*, as was referred to in the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* in idea only, actually appeared on the earth as the demonic God Heruka, alias Hevajra.

The group of *yoginīs* has decisive reality. It is nothing other than the female principle *prajñā* and in this quotation it is regarded as *tathatā* (眞如). It is a new, real matrix in which enlightenment is realized certainly on psychological and physiological grounds. Therefore, as is indicated by the axiom '*prajñā* plus *upāya* is *bodhicitta*' (see p. 180), the God Hevajra, who is by himself the male principle *upāya*, is realized as the ultimate reality *bodhicitta* as long as his is united with these *yoginīs*. A practicer who regards himself as Hevajra, visiting a group of these *yoginīs* in a place of cemetery and practising sexual *yoga* with them, attains enlightenment on the spot.

In the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*, the enlightenment should be possible for anyone, regardless of their personal qualifications or abilities, if only they enter into the *maṇḍala*. In the *Hevajre-tantra*, it has become possible for one to enter into the *maṇḍala* actually. Thus, a concrete method to realize the ideal of the quick attainment of enlightenment declared in the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* was presented in the *Hevajra-tantra*.

ii. The Fourth Consecration: The Critical Turn of the *Hevajra-tantra*

In the *Hevajra-tantra*, which synthesized the Tantric logic of *yoga* declared in the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* and the cult of cemetery, Tantrism developed to its apex. Though it was a clever device of the author of the *Hevajra-tantra* to identify the group of *yoginīs* with the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, the matrix of enlightenment, when, following the Mahāyānic tendency within himself, he regarded each of the five *yoginīs* or *mudrās* as completely identical with the corresponding families of the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, he betrayed, if not consciously, the Tantric logic of symbolism. When we say, according to the Tantric way of thinking, "if a symbol A symbolizes B, A is identical with B" or "when A represents a group B, A is identical with the whole B", it is tacitly understood that A and B are objectively different. Therefore, when the author of the *Hevajra-tantra* attempted to symbolize the *Vajradhātu* of five families by a group of *yoginīs* or *mudrās*, he should have been contented with the fact that a *yoginī* or a *mudrā* and a family of the *Vajradhātu* are different from one another and that the former is only a symbol or a representative of the latter. For example, in the first *pāda* of the verse 5 of the above quotation, *viz.* "*vajraṁ ḍombī bhaven*", Ḍombī should have remained different from the Vajra-family of the *Vajradhātu* serving merely as a representative of or a substitute for the latter as was indicated by Snellgrove's

reconstruction "*Vajre Ḍombī bhaven*". The author of the *Hevajra-tantra*, however, went beyond himself and regarded Ḍombī one and the same with the Vajra-family. When he did, though perhaps not consciously, he no longer placed entire confidence in the Tantric logic of symbolism. He removed the distinction between Ḍombī and the Vajra-family so as to emphasize their essential identity, and through this unnecessary identification he made the relation between the symbol and the symbolized something metaphorical or conventional. It could be assumed that this identification of *mudrās* and the families of the *Vajradhātu* was an accidental slip of the pen. However, the same tendency of taking the efficacy of symbolism only as metaphorical or conventional can be found in the system of consecration peculiar to the *Hevajra-tantra*; that is, the fourth consecration. Consecration is the most essential cult for a Tantrist.

In the *Hevajra-tantra*, the system of consecration is composed of following four kinds of consecrations:

(1) *ācārya-abhiṣeka* (阿闍梨灌頂, consecration to become a master)
(2) *guhya-abhiṣeka* (秘密灌頂, the secret consecration)
(3) *prajñjñāna-abhiṣka* (般若智灌頂, the consecration to acquire *prajñā*-wisdom or acquire wisdom through *prajñā*, a woman)
(4) *caturtha-abhiṣeka* (第四灌頂, the fourth consecration)

The first is the usual consecration to become a master. It is also called *kalaśa-abhiṣeka* (the consecration with a pitcher), in which water gathered from the five oceans of the world, symbolizing the five kinds of wisdom (五智) which constitute the *dharmakāya* of Vairocana, *viz. bodhicitta* (the mind of enlightenment), is poured from a pitcher on the top of the head of a disciple so as to implant the five kinds of wisdom within him.

The second is said to be the original consecration of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. The master (*ācārya*) who is identified with Vajrasattva ('adamantine-being' who is both the absolute reality itself and a concrete being) practises sexual *yoga* with a beautiful girl of sixteen years old (*mahāmudrā*, the material aspect of the entire *maṇḍala* and at the same time a woman) who was dedicated to him by the desciple during her menstruation. The master drops the *bodhicitta*, the mixture of his semen (*upāya*) and the menstrual fluid of the girl (*prajñā*), into the mouth of the disciple whose eyes are bound with a cloth, and thus implants the *bodhicitta* within him.

The third is thought to be the original consecration of the Buddhist immigrants to the cult of cemetery, and is performed in conformance with the idea of the structure of the human body, thought to be borrowed from the cult of cemetery.

There are two veins (*nāḍī*) on both sides of the central or spinal vein *Avadhūtī*, *viz. Lalanā* (left) and *Rasanā* (right). *Lalanā* conveys *prajñā* and

Rasanā conveys *upāya*. Through the sexual *yoga*, *bodhicitta*, the mixture of *prajñā* and *upāya*, occurs at the confluence of these two veins. Through yogic practice, the *yogin* makes this *bodhicitta* ascend through the central vein *Avadhūtī*. *Avadhūtī* runs through four *cakras* (similar to nerve centres), *viz.* *nirmāṇa-cakra*, *dharma-cakra*, *saṁbhoga-cakra* and *mahāsukha-cakra* which are imagined to be located in the navel, in the heart, in the throat and in the head as sixty-four petalled, eight petalled, sixteen petalled and thirty-two petalled respectively. As the *bodhicitta* passes through these four *cakras* in regular succession, the four kinds of pleasures, *viz.* *ānanda* (usual sexual pleasure), *paramānanda* (the supreme pleasure), *viramānanda* (pleasure no longer sexual) and *sahajānanda* (the innate pleasure) are experienced. The last of these four, which is experienced when the *bodhicitta* attains to the *cakra* in the head, *viz.* *mahāsukha-cakra* (the cakra of the great pleasure) is the great pleasure (*mahāsukha* 大樂) which is an aspect of the ultimate reality and is nothing other than the state of enlightenment.(44) This idea of *mahāsukha* as the state of enlightenment or as an aspect of *dharmakāya* obviously corresponds to the aspect of *ānanda* of *brahman*, the universal reality of Brahmanic Philosophy, which is equipped with three aspects, *viz.* *sat* (substantiality), *cit* (spirituality) and *ānanda* (pleasure).

In the *prajñājñāna-abhiṣeka*, the master (*ācārya*) makes the disciple practice in turn sexual yoga with the girl and teaches him the process of promoting *bodhicitta* allowing him experience himself the pleasures of each stage. This process is a homologous miniaturization of the Mahāyānic process of accumulating merits over the period of the three great uncountable aeons.

When the *bodhicitta* of the disciple reaches the *mahāsukha-cakra* located in the head, according to the Tantric logic of symbolism, he should enter in to the sphere of the universal pleasure, or the ultimate state of enlightenment. He should have nothing more to do; still he goes beyond this.

The disciple, having attained the great pleasure through his yogic practice with the girl who was once given to the master, rejoices. He thanks the master heartily and gives him a great amount of honorarium. He even offers him himself as a slave as well as his wife and children, and subsequently asks to receive the fourth consecration. The master, according to the *Saṁpuṭodbhava-tantra* "will give him the (precious) consecration like a jewel with nothing but words, which the disciple will realize later" (*vācaiva dadyād abhiṣekaratnam / paścāt svasaṁvedayate sa* śiṣyaḥ(45) //). The fourth consecration is the consecration with words, or Upaniṣadic teaching of the secret expression in

(44) For this idea of the structure of the human body, see S. Tsuda, 「四輪三脉の身體觀」, 『中村元博士還暦記念論集インド思想と佛教』, Tokyo, 1974, p. 293 f.

(45) For the Sanskrit text of the chapter of consecration of the *Saṁpuṭodbhava-tantra*, see S. Tsuda, The Rite of Consecration in the *Saṁpuṭodbhava-tantra*, *Studies in Buddhist Thought. Dedicated to Professor Jio Okuda in Commemoration of his Seventy-seventh Birthday*, Kyoto, 1976, p. 1131 f.

the form of maxims.

According to the Tantric way of thinking, there can be no truth which can not be attained through Tantric practice of manipulating symbols. The yogic practice of the third consecration was perfectly successful in symbolyzing the world of reality. It should have convinced the disciple that the pleasure he experienced in the consecration is nothing other than the universal pleasure which is an aspect of the ultimate reality. There should be no further truth to be received through words. Still in the fourth consecration, the truth was to be taught with words. Thus the system of the *Hevajra*-tantra itself betrayed Tantrism. Here, we notice the critical turn, or rather a critical turning back from Tantrism to Mahāyāna Buddhism.

What was the ultimate truth then? Bu ston (1290–1364 A.D.) offers in his *dpal bde mchog sdom pa ḥbyuṅ baḥi dkyil ḥkhor gyi cho ga dri ma med paḥi chu rgyun*,(46) the following sentence, which appears at the end of the *Hevajra-tantra*, as the substance of the fourth consecration:

> *idaṁ jñānaṁ mahāsūkṣmaṁ vajramaṇḍaṁ nabhopamam /*
> *virajaṁ mokṣadaṁ śāntaṁ pitā te tvam asi svayam ||* (HV. II. xii. 4.)
> "This wisdom is very subtle; it is the cream of the adamant and is like the empty sky.
> It is free from the dust (of passion), brings about liberation and is tranquil.
> You are your self your own father."(47)

Followers of the *Hevajra-tantra* were betrayed in the last moment in the *Hevajra-tantra* itself through this verse. In time, however, recovering from bewilderment, they again rose from meditation and started on a pilgrimage attempting to realize this Upaniṣadic, enigmatic remark that "you are yourself your own father". Since the yogic practice of Tantrism was judged as a conventional means only, they had nothing left other than the Mahāyānic practice through which to solve the mystery of this remark. This can be attested to by the fact that the system of pilgrimage places (*pīṭha*) was very quickly consolidated in the short period of transition from the *Hevajra-tantra* to the subsequent *Saṁvarodaya-tantra*.

V. The Fate of Tantric Buddhism

i. The Theory of Pilgrimage Places

The practice of pilgrimage did exist in the time of the *Hevajra-tantra*. The followers of the *Hevajra-tantra* actually visited sacred places of the cult

(46) *The Collected Works of Bu ston*, edit. by Lokesh Chandra, Ja, 593–5∼6.
(47) Snellgrove, *ibid.* Part II, 100, Part I, p. 119.

of *yoginīs* in quest of a group of *yoginīs* external to them just as the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* was external to the followers of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*. They did go on pilgrimages, but, pilgrimage itself was not essential for them. If a group of *yoginīs* could have been found nearby, it would have eliminated the need for pilgrimage.

The pilgrimage places (*pīṭha*) and names of countries or cities are enumerated though not systematically in the *Hevajra-tantra* as follows:

"[*vajragarbha uvāca*] /
he bhagavan ke te melāpakasthānāḥ //
bhagavān āha /
pīṭhañ copapīṭhañ ca kṣetrañ copakṣetram eva ca /
chandohañ copacchandohaṁ melāpakopamelāpakam tathā //10//
pīlavopapīlavañ caiva śmaśānopaśmaśānañ ca /
etā dvādaśabhūmayaḥ /
daśabhūmīśvaro nātha ebhir anyair na kathyate //11//
[*vajragarbha uvāca*] /
he bhagavan ke te pīṭhādayaḥ //
bhagavān āha
pīṭhaṁ jālandharaṁ khyātam oḍiyānaṁ tathaiva ca /
pīṭhaṁ pūrṇagiriś caiva kāmarūpaṁ tathaiva ca //12//
upapīṭhaṁ mālavam proktaṁ sindhur nagaram eva ca /
kṣetraṁ munmuni khyātaṁ kṣetraṁ kāruṇyapāṭakam /
devīkoṭaṁ tathā kṣetraṁ kṣetraṁ karmārapāṭakam //13//
upakṣetraṁ kulatā proktam arbudañ ca tathaiva ca /
godāvarī himādriś ca upakṣetrañ ca saṁkṣepataḥ //14//
chandohaṁ harikelañ ca lavanasāgaramadhyajam /
lampākaṁ kāñcikañ caiva saurāṣṭrañ ca tathaiva ca //15//
kaliṅgam upacchandohaṁ dvīpañ cāmīkarānvitam /
kokaṇañ copacchandohaṁ samāsenābhidhīyate //16//
pīlavaṁ grāmāntasthaṁ pīlavaṁ nagarasya ca /
caritraṁ kośalañ caiva vindhyā kaumārapaurikā /
upapīlavaṁ tatsanniveśaṁ vajragarbha mahākṛpa //17//
śmaśānaṁ pretasaṁhātaṁ śmaśānaṁ codadhes taṭaḥ /
udyānaṁ vāpikātīram upaśmaśānaṁ nigadyate //18//"[48]

In this passage, the list of ten kinds of *pīṭhas* and places which correspond to them is as follows:

(1) *pīṭha*: a. Jālandhara b. Oḍiyāna c. Paurṇagiri d. Kāmarūpa
(2) *upapīṭha*: a. Mālava b. Sindhu c. Nagara
(3) *kṣetra*: a. Munmuni b. Kāruṇyapāṭaka c. Devīkoṭa d. Karmārapāṭaka

(48) cf. Snellgrove, *ibid*. Part II, p. 21~24.

(4) *upakṣetra*: a. Kulatā b. Arbuda c. Godāvarī d. Himādri
(5) *chandoha*: a. Harikera b. (the place) arisen in the middle of the salt-ocean c. Lampāka d. Kāñcika e. Saurāṣṭra
(6) *upacchandoha*: Kaliṅga b. the island of gold c. Kokaṇa
(7) *pīlava*: a. (the place) on the boundary of the village b. (the place on the boundary) of the city c. Caritra d. Kośala e. Vindyā f. Kaumārapaurikā
(8) *upapīlava*: a. (the place) near to it
(9) *śmaśāna*: a. (the place) where dead spirits haunt b. the ocean-shore
(10) *upaśmaśāna*: a. the garden b. the shore of the pool

Here, *melāpaka* and *upamelāpaka* which appeared in verse 10 were eliminated. Some of these names of places appear to be imaginary or to be mere modifiers; the number of these places is difficult to determine. However, in the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra* which follows the *Hevajra-tantra*, the system of the places of pilgrimage has been consolidated firmly as is shown in the following passage of the chapter 9 of the *tantra*:

madyamāṁsapriyā nityaṁ lajjābhayanāśanī ca yā /
ḍākinīkulasaṁbhūtāḥ sahajā iti kathyate /
deśe deśe 'bhijāyante yoginīḥ sevayet sadā ||12||
pīṭhopapīṭhakṣetropakṣetracchandohopacchandohamelāpakopa melāpakam/
śmaśānañ copaśmaśānañ ca jambudvīpe vyavasthitāḥ ||13||
pīṭhaṁ pūrṇagirau khyātaṁ pīṭhaṁ jālandharaṁ tathā /
oḍiyānaṁ tathā pīṭhaṁ pīṭham arbudam eva ca ||14||
godāvary upapīṭaṁ syāt tathā rāmeśvarā dvayam /
devīkoṭābhidhānañ ca mālavañ copapīṭhakam ||15||
kāmarūpaṁ dvyaṁ kṣetram oḍrakṣetrābhidhānakam /
triśakuny upakṣetraṁ syāt kosalaś copakṣetrakam ||16||
kaliṅgalaṁpākayoś ca cchandohañ ca tathaiva ca /
kāñcikā copacchandohaṁ himālaya viśeṣataḥ ||17||
pretādhivāsinī melā gṛhadevatam eva ca /
saurāṣṭre suvarṇadvīpe ca upamelāpakadvayam ||18||
śmaśānaṁ pāṭalīputram śmaśānaṁ sindhum eva ca /
marukulatādvayasthānam upaśmaśāna kathyate ||19||
bāhyapīṭhan tathā khyātam adhyātmaṁ deham ucyate /
svadehe nāḍikārūpaṁ pīṭhanāmeti kīrtitam ||20||
tadrūpaṁ devatākāraṁ tenādhyātmavyavasthitiḥ /
tena tatpiṇḍamayaṁ dehaṁ sarvabuddhasamo hy asau ||21||
pīṭham pramuditā bhūmir upapīṭhaṁ vimalā tathā /
kṣetram prabhākarī bhumir arciṣmaty upakṣetrakam ||22||
chandoho 'bhimukhī jñeyopacchandohaḥ sudurjayā /

dūraṅgameti melā syād acalākhyopamelakam ‖23‖
śmaśānam sādhumatī caiva dharmameghopaśmaśānakam /
bhūmipīṭhādisaṁśuddhim kathayāmi yathākramam ‖24‖
pīṭhopapīṭhasevanān nirmalo bhavati mānavaḥ /
bhraman nimittaṁ saṁlakṣya nirvikalpena dhīmatāḥ ‖25‖[49]

"A woman who is always fond of meat and spirituous liquors and forgets shame and fear is said to be an 'innate woman' born of the *ḍākinī* family. They are born in each district; (these) *yoginīs* should be worshipped at all times (12).

(The places of pilgrimage, that is,) *pīṭha* ('the seat'), *upapīṭha* ('the subsidiary seat'), *kṣetra* ('the field'), *upakṣetra* ('the subsidiary field'), *chandoha, upacchandoha, melāpaka* ('the meeting-place'), *upamelāpaka* ('the subsidiary meeting-place'), *śmaśāna* ('the cemetery') and *upaśmaśāna* ('the subsidiary cemetery') are located in *Jambudvīpa* (13).

(Name of places corresponding to these places of pilgrimage is as follows:)
(1) *pīṭha*: a. Pūrṇagiri b. Jālandhara c. Oḍiyāna d. Arbuda (14)
(2) *upapīṭha*: a. Godāvarī b. Rāmeśvarī c. Devīkoṭa d. Mālava (15)
(3) *kṣetra*: a. Kāmarūpa b. Oḍra
(4) *upakṣetra*: a. Triśakunī b. Kośala (16)
(5) *chandoha*: a. Kaliṅga b. Laṁpāka
(6) *upacchandoha*: a. Kāñcī b. Himālaya (17)
(7) *melāpaka*: a. Pretādhivāsinī b. Gṛhadevatā
(8) *upamelāpaka*: a. Saurāṣṭra b. Svarṇadvīpa (18)
(9) *śmaśāna*: a. Pāṭaliputra b. Sindhu
(10) *upaśmaśāna* a. Maru b. Kulatā (19)

Thus, the external *pīṭhas (bāhyapīṭha)* are told; the internal (*adhyātmapīṭha*) is said to be (the *pīṭha* which exists in) the body. It is said that the 'abode' of a vein in one's own body has the name *pīṭha* (20). Its form has the aspect of a deity, (*viz.* a *ḍākinī*); for this reason, it is established as the internal (*pīṭha*). For this reason, the body consists of the 'lump' of them; he (who has this body) is equal to (the aggregate of) all the *buddhas* (21).

pīṭha is the (first) stage (of *bodhisattvas* called) *Pramuditā* ('joyful').
upapīṭha is (the second stage) *Vimalā* ('immaculate').
kṣetra is the (third) stage Prabhākarī ('radiant').
upakṣetra is (the fourth stage) *Arciṣmatī* ('flaming') (22).
chandoha is (the sixth stage) *Abhimukhī* ('confronted').
upacchandoha is (the fifth stage) *Sudurjayā* ('invincible').
melāpaka is (the seventh stage) *Dūraṅgamā* ('far-going').
upamelāpaka is (the eighth stage) *Acalā* ('immovable') (23).

(49) S. Tsuda, *The Saṁvarodaya-tantra Selected Chapters*, p. 104 f.

śmaśāna is (the ninth stage) *Sādhumatī* ('successful').
upaśmaśāna is (the tenth stage) Dharmameghā ('the cloud of truth').
I will speak of the purification of *pīṭhas* and so on (, that is, the ten) stages (of *bodhisattvas*) in due order (24).
By resorting to (the places of) *pīṭhas* or *upapīṭas*, one can become stainless. Wandering (amid these places) and observing (their) features, he will become wise and be free from imaginary ideas (25)."[50]

In the correspondence of ten *pīṭhas* and the ten stages of *bodhisattvas* (菩薩十地), and especially in the last part of this passage (verses 22~25), we can discern the original image of 'the theory of external *pīṭhas*'. Practicers are imagined to have done pilgrimage from one *pīṭha* to another with the consciousness that they were walking through the Mahāyānic process of purifying mind by degrees, if symbolically. Pilgrimage itself was their aim. According to the Mahāyānic ideal, they hoped to be able to purify themselves through pilgrimage. At the same time, according to the Tantric ideal, they hoped to be able to personally testify to the Tantric formula of attaining perfection (*siddhi* 悉地) quickly through the Mahāyānic idea of performing difficult deeds. Thus, the followers of the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra* came to be alternating practicers of both pilgrimage and meditation.

However, this Mahāyānic idea of going on pilgrimage to 'external *pīṭhas*', though already a deed symbolic of the Mahāyānic performance of "difficult deed" (*duḥkara* 難行) in its true sense of the word, was almost simultaneously replaced with the Tantric idea of 'internal *pīṭhas*' as is shown in the following passage found in chapter 7 of the same text:

athātaḥ saṁpravakṣyāmi nāḍīcakra yathākramam /
dvāsaptatisahasrāṇi nāḍī dehānugā bhavet ‖1‖
nāḍikā upanāḍīnāṁ tāsāṁ sathānasamāśritāḥ /
viṁśottataśatam nāma nāḍīprādhānyam ucyate ‖2‖
nāḍīsthānañ ca pīṭhañ ca caturviṁśatpramāṇataḥ /
teṣāṁ madhye trayo nāḍya āśrayanti ca sarvagāḥ ‖3‖
pullīramalaye śirasi nakhadantavahā sthitā /
jālandharaśikhāsthāne keśaromasamāvahā ‖4‖
oḍiyāne dakṣiṇe karṇe nāḍī tvaṅmalavāhinī /
arbude pṛṣṭhavaṁśe tu nāḍī piśitavāhinī ‖5‖
godāvarīvāmakarṇe nāḍī snāyuvāhinī /
rāmeśvare bhruvo madhye asthi vahati sarvadā ‖6‖
devīkoṭe sthitā cakṣau nāḍī bukkavāhinī /
mālave skandhadvayasthāne nāḍī hṛdayavāhinī ‖7‖
kāmarukakṣayoḥ sthāne cakṣur vahati sarvadā /

(50) Tsuda, *ibid.* p. 271 f. For the *pīṭha* theory of the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra*, see S. Tsuda, Theory of *Pīṭha* in the *Saṁvara* Literature (I), *Buzan Gakuho*, No. 16, 1971.

auḍre stanayugale nāḍī pittavahā sadā ‖8‖
nābhau stiśakunisaṁsthāne nāḍī phupphusāvahā /
kosale nāsikāgre tu antramālāvahā sthitā ‖9‖
mukhasthāne kaliṅge tu gudavartiḥ sadā sthitā /
laṁpāke kaṇṭhadeśe tu nāḍy udaravahā sadā ‖10‖
kāñcihṛdayasthāne tu nāḍī viḍvāhinī /
himālaye meḍhrasthāne nāḍī sīmāntamadhyagā ‖11‖
pretādhivāsinīliṅge nāḍī śleṣmavāhinī /
gṛhadevatāgudasthāne sāmānyaṁ pūyavāhinī ‖12‖
saurāṭṣra ūruyugale śoṇitāñ ca sadā vahā /
suvarṇadvīpe jaṁghāsthāne nāḍī prasvedavāhinī ‖13‖
nagare pādāṅgulau jñeyā nāḍī medavahā sadā /
sindhau pādapṛṣṭhasthāne aśru vahati rūpiṇī ‖14‖
marāv aṅguṣṭhayoḥ sthāne kheṭaṁ vahati sarvadā /
kulatājānudvayoḥ sthitvā bālasaṁhānavāhinī ‖15‖[51]

"Now, I will explain the circle of veins in due order. Veins circulating in the body are seventy-two thousand (1).
Veins rely on the abodes of these subsidiary veins. One hundred and twenty (veins) are said to be the principal veins (2).
The abode of veins, (that is,) 'the seats' (*pīṭha*) are twenty-four in number; in the middle of them dwell three veins; they are omnipresent (3).

In *Pullīramalaya*, (that is,) the head exists (a vein) flowing through fingernails and teeth. In the abode of the top of the head, (that is,) *Jālandhara*, there exists (a vein which) flows through the hair of the head and body (4).
In *Oḍiyāna*, (that is,) the right ear, a vein flows through the skin and dirt; and in *Arbuda*, (that is,) the back-bone, a vein flows through the flesh (5).
In *Godāvarī*, (that is,) the left ear, a vein flows through the muscle. Among the eyebrows, (that is,) *Rāmeśvara*, (a vein) always flows through bones (6).
A vein existing in *Devīkoṭa*, (that is,) the eyes flows through the liver. In *Mālava*, (that is,) the abode of both shoulders is the vein flowing through the heart (7).
In the abode of *Kāmaru*, (that is,) the two armpits, (a vein) always flows through the eyes. In *Oḍra*, (that is,) the two breasts a vein always conveys bile (8).
In the navel, (that is,) the abode of *Triśakuni*, a vein flows through the lungs. In *Kośala*, (that is,) the top of the nose exists a vein flowing through the wreath of entrails (9).
In the abode of mouth, (that is,) *Kaliṅga*, always exists (a vein) moving

(51) S. Tsuda, *The Saṁvarodaya-tantra Selected Chapters*, p. 93 f.

in the rectum. In *Laṁpāka*, that is, the abode of the throat, the vein is always flowing through the stomach (10).

In *Kāñci*, the abode of the heart, a vein conveys faeces. In *Himālaya*, the abode of penis, a vein goes to the middle of the parting of the hair (11).

In *Pretādhivāsinī*, (that is,) the *liṅga*, the vein conveys phlegm. In the abode of rectum, (that is,) *Gṛhadevatā* is (a vein) always conveying purulent matter (12).

In *Saurāṣṭra*, (that is,) the both thighs a vein always conveys blood.

In *Suvarṇadvīpa*, (that is,) the abode of the shank, a vein conveys sweat (13).

In *Nagara*, (that is,) the toe, a vein is known to be always conveying fat.

In Sindhu, the abode of the instep, (the vein) *Rūpiṇī* conveys tears (14).

In *Maru*, the abode of both thumbs, a vein conveys phlegm at all times.

Existing in *Kulatā*, (that is,) the two knees, (a vein) always conveys snivel (15)."(52)

Here, the correspondence between each of twenty-four *pīṭhas*, that is, twenty-four parts of the body and twenty-four humours or internal organs is shown. We can reconstruct the idea of 'the internal *pīṭhas*' on the basis of verses 20 and 21 of above-mentioned chapter 9 as follows:

'Internal *pīṭhas*' are abodes of veins (*nāḍīsthāna*, VII.3.) as 'external *pīṭhas*' are abode of *ḍākinīs*. They are twenty-four parts of a body such as "the head" corresponding to the external *pīṭha* Pullīramalaya (VII.4.) etc.. There are twenty-four veins (*nāḍī*) which rely on these internal *pīṭhas* such as "(a vein) flowing through fingernails and teeth" (*nakhadantavahā*, VII.4.) etc.. These veins (*nāḍī*) are regarded as deities (*devatā*, IX.21.), that is, *ḍākinīs*. A *nāḍī* is nothing other than a *ḍākinī* as is shown exceptionally in the case of *Rūpiṇī* (VII.14.). A human body is composed of these twenty-four 'internal *pīṭhas*" such as "the head" (VII.4.) etc. as the world, that is, the *Jambūdvīpa* in this case, is composed of twenty-four 'external *pīṭhas*' i.e. twenty-four countries such as *Pullīramalaya* etc.. An 'internal *pīṭha*' is existent as long as it is an abode of a vein. A vein in turn is existent as long as it conveys a humour in it or it flows in an internal organ. Therefore, if one makes twenty-four veins of one's own body active, through yogic practice of making each of humours flow through the corresponding veins or each of veins flow through the corresponding internal organs, he transforms his body into an aggregate of internal *pīṭhas* or an aggregate of *ḍākinīs*, a homologous miniaturization of the world as an aggregate of external *pīṭhas* or an aggregate of *ḍākinīs* (*ḍākinījāla*). Thus, he can unite himself with the ultimate reality on the basis of the Tantric logic of symbolism.

(52) Tsuda, *ibid.* p. 260 f.

ii. The Structure of the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala*

The theory of internal *pīṭhas* is brought to completion in the *Vajraḍāka-tantra* which succeeds to the *pīṭha* theory of the *Saṁpuṭodbhava-tantra.*(53) We would like to show the latter half of chapter 14 of the *Vajraḍāka-tantra,* the first half of which corresponds with the last part of *kalpa* II. *prakaraṇa* 1 of the *Saṁpuṭodbhava-tantra* and shows the correspondence between each of twenty-four external pīṭhas and twenty-four internal *pīṭhas*:

eṣu sthāneṣu yāḥ kanyā nāḍīrūpena saṁsthitāḥ /
ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajraḍākaḥ yathāparam ‖14‖
sarvavīrasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṁvaram /
kathayāmi samāsena tan me nigaditaṁ śṛṇu ‖15‖
pullīramalaye khaṇḍakapālinaḥ pracaṇḍā nakhadantāvahā /
jārandhare mahākaṁkālacaṇḍākṣī keśaromāvahā ‖16‖
oḍiyāne kaṁkālaprabhāvatī tvaṅmalāvahā /
arbude vikaṭadaṁṣṭriṇā mahānāsā piśitāvahā / pīṭha ‖17‖
godāvaryāṁ suravairiṇavīramati nahāruhā vahati sarvadā /
rāmeśvare amitābhakharparī asthimālāvahā ‖18‖
devikoṭe vajraprabhalaṅkeśvarī bukkaṁ vahati nityaśaḥ /
mālave vajradehadrumacchāyā hṛdmaṇḍalāvahā ‖19‖
ity evaṁ kathitan devi cittacakrasya khecarī
samāpattyā vyavasthitā ‖20‖
kāmarūpe aṅkurika-airāvatī cakṣur vahati sā nityam /
oḍre vajrajaṭilamahābhairavā pittāvahā prakīrtitā / kṣetra ‖21‖
triśakunau mahāvīravāyuvegā sā phupphusāvahā /
kośale vajrahūṁkārasurābhakṣī antramālāvahā / upakṣetra ‖22‖
kaliṅge subhadraśyāmadevī pārśvatas tu samākhyātā /
laṁpāke vajrabhadrasubhadrā udaram vahati garddabhī / chandoha ‖23‖
kāñcyāṁ bhairavahayakarṇā viṣṭāvaha prakīrtitā /
himālaye virūpākṣakhagānanā sīmāntasya madhyagā vyavasthitā / upacchandoha ‖24‖
vākcakrasya bhūcarī samāpattyā vyavasthitā ‖25‖
pretādhivāsini mahābalacakravegā śleṣmaṁ vahati sarvadā /
gṛhadevatāyāṁ ratnavajrakhaṇḍarohā pūyaṁ vahati nityaśaḥ ‖26‖
saurāṣṭre hayagrīvaśauṇḍinī raktavahā prakīrtitā /
suvarṇadvīpe ākāśagarbhacakravarmiṇī prasvedavahā tathā /
melāpakopamelāpakam matam ‖27‖
nagare mārārisuvīrā medavahā /
sindhudeśe padmanarteśvaramahābalā aśru vahati nityaśaḥ śmaśāna ‖28‖

(53) For the pīṭha theory of the *Saṁpuṭodbhava-tantra,* see S. Tsuda, Theory of *Pīṭha* in the *Saṁvara* Literature (II), *Buzan Gakuho,* No. 17・18, 1973.

marau vairocanacakravartinī kheṭāvahā prakīrtitā /
kulatāyāṁ vajrasattvamahāvīryā bālasiṁhānāvāhinī / upaśmaśāna //29//
kāyacakrasya bāhyapātālavāsinī samāpattyā vyavasthitā //30//
ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrasattvas tathāgataḥ /
sarvaḍākinīsamāyogavajraḍākaḥ paraṁ sukham //31//[54]

" 'In these places (of pilgrimage), the girls are abiding in the forms of veins.' Thus said the Reverend Lord, the holder of an adamant, Vajraḍāka.

'I will tell you summarily the supreme pleasure (*saṁvara*) (which is to be realized) in the group of *ḍākinīs* perfectly united with all the heroes. Listen to what is said by me (15).

In *Phullīramalaya*, there exists Pracaṇḍā, (the consort) of Khaṇḍakapālin, flowing through fingernails and teeth.

In *Jālandhara*, there exists Caṇḍākṣī (united) with Mahākaṁkāla flowing through the hair of the head and body (16).

In *Oḍiyāna*, Prabhāvatī (united) with Kaṁkāla flows through the skin and dirt.

In *Arbuda*, Mahānāsā, together with Vikaṭadaṁṣṭrin flows through the flesh. (These four places are) *pīṭhas* (17).

In Godāvarī, Vīramati (united) with Suravairiṇa always flows through *nahāruhā* (?).

In *Rāmeśvara*, Kharparī (united) with Amitābha flows through the wreath of bones (18).

In *Devikoṭa*, Laṅkeśvarī (united) with Vajraprabha flows through the liver.

In *Mālava, Drumacchāyā* (united) with Vajradeha flows through the *maṇḍala* of the heart (19).

Thus what was said is, O Goddess, the aerial girls, who are belonging to the wheel of mind, abiding in union (with their male partners) (20).

In *Kāmarūpa*, Airāvatī (united) with Aṅkurika exists. (As a vein), she always flows through the eyes.

In *Oḍra*, there exists Mahābhairavā (united) with Vajrajaṭila. She is said to be (the vein) conveying bile. (These two are) *kṣetras* (21)

In Triśakuni, there exists Vāyuvegā (united) with Mahāvīra. (As a vein) she flows through the lungs.

In *Kośala*, there exists Surābhakṣī, (united) with Vajrahūṁkāra, flowing through the wreath of entrails. (These are) *upakṣetras* (22).

In *Kaliṅga*, there exists Śyāmadevī (united) with Subhadra. (She is) said to be (the vein flowing) through the place of the ribs.

In *Lampāka*, there exists Subhadrā (united) with Vajrabhadra. (As a

(54) For the Sanskrit text of the *Vajraḍāka-tantra*, see S. Tsuda, Theory of *Pīṭha* in the *Saṁvara* Literature, Buzan Gakuho, No. 17・18.

vein, she is) Garddabhī flowing through the stomach. (These are) *chandohas* (23).

In Kāñcī, there exists Hayakarṇā (united) with Bhairava. (She is) said to be (the vein) conveying faeces.

In *Himālaya,* there exists Khagānanā, (united) with Virūpākṣa, going to the middle of the parting of the hair. (These are) *upacchandohas* (24).

(Thus) exist girls inhabiting on the earth (*bhūcarī*), who are belonging to the wheel of speech, being in union (with their male partners) (25).

In *Pretādhivāsin,* there exists Cakravegā (united) with Mahābala. She always conveys phlegm.

In *Gṛhadevatā,* there exists Khaṇḍarohā (united) with Ratnavajra. She always conveys purulent matter (26).

In *Saurāṣṭra,* there exists Śauṇḍinī (united) with Hayagrīva. (She is) said to be (the vein) conveying blood.

In *Suvarṇadvīpa,* there exists Cakravarmiṇī, (united) with Ākaśagarbha, conveying sweat. (These are) *melāpakas* and *upamelāpakas* (27).

In *Nagara,* there exists Suvīrā, (united) with Mārāri, conveying fat.

In *Sindhu,* There exists Mahābalā (united) with Padmanarteśvara. (As a vein, she) always conveys tears. (These are) *śmaśānas* (28).

In Maru, there exists Cakravartinī (united) with Vairocana. (She is) said to be (the vein) conveying phlegm.

In Kulatā, there exists Mahāvīryā, (united) with Vajrasattva, conveying snivel. (These are) *upaśmaśānas* (29).

(Thus) exist girls inhabiting in the outer (of the three layers constituting the outer circle of the *maṇḍala,* that is), the region under the earth, who are belonging to the wheel of body, abiding in union (with their male partners) (30).'

Thus, said the Reverend Lord, the holder of an adamant, the Adamantine-being, *tathāgata,* Vajraḍāka in perfect union with all the *ḍākinīs,* the Supreme Pleasure."

In this passage, we find all the elements constituting the outer circle of the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* of sixty-two deities, the names and positions of which are as follows:

I. The Inner Circle.

1. Heruka	2. Vajravārāhī	the pericarp of the central lotus
3. Ḍākinī		the east petal of the central lotus
4. Lāmā		the south petal
5. Khaṇḍalohā		the west petal
6. Rūpiṇī		the north petal

II. The Outer Circle.

i. *Ḍākinīs* in the Sky.		The Wheel of Mind (the inner layer).
7. Khaṇḍakapāla	8. Pracaṇḍā	east spoke (Phullīramalaya)
9. Mahākaṅkāla	10. Caṇḍākṣī	north spoke (Jālandhara)
11. Kaṅkāla	12. Prabhāvatī	west spoke (Oḍiyāna)
13. Vikaṭadaṁṣṭra	14. Mahānāsā	south spoke (Arbuda)
15. Suravairiṇa	16. Vīramati	southeast spoke (Godāvarī)
17. Amitābha	18. Kharparī	southwest spoke (Rāmeśvara)
19. Vajraprabha	20. Laṅkeśvarī	northwest spoke (Devikoṭa)
21. Vajradeha	22. Drumacchāyā	northeast spoke (Mālava)
ii. *Ḍākinīs* on the Earth.		The Wheel of Speech (the middle layer).
23. Aṅkurika	24. Airāvatī	east spoke (Kāmarūpa)
25. Vajrajaṭila	26. Mahābhairavī	north spoke (Oḍra)
27. Mahābala	28. Vāyuvegā	west spoke (Triśakuni)
29. Vajrahūṁkāra	30. Surābhakṣī	south spoke (Kosala)
31. Subhadra	32. Śyāmadevī	southeast spoke (Kaliṅga)
33. Vajrabhadra	34. Subhadrā	southwest spoke (Laṁpāka)
35. Mahābhairava	36. Hayakarṇā	northwest spoke (Kāñcī)
37. Virūpākṣa	38. Khagānanā	northeast spoke (Himālaya)
iii. *Ḍākinīs* under the Earth.		The Wheel of Body (the outer layer).
39. Mahābala	40. Cakravegā	east spoke (Pretapuri)
41. Ratnavajra	42. Khaṇḍarohā	north spoke (Gṛhadevatā)
43. Hayagrīva	44. Śauṇḍinī	west spoke (Saurāṣṭra)
45. Ākāśagarbha	46. Cakravarmiṇī	south spoke (Suvarṇadvīpa)
47. Heruka	48. Suvīrā	southeast spoke (Nagara)
49. Padmanarteśvara	50. Mahābalā	southwest (Sindhu)
51. Vairocana	52. Cakravartinī	northwest (Maru)
53. Vajrasattva	54. Mahāvīryā	northeast (Kulatā)

III. Guardians.

55. Kākāsyā	east gate
56. Ulūkāsyā	north gate
57. Śvānāsyā	west gate
58. Sūkarāsyā	south gate
59. Yamadṛḍhī	southeast corner
60. Yamadūtī	southwest corner
61. Yamadaṁṣṭrī	northwest corner
62. Yamamathanī	northeast corner

The *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* thus completes itself by incorpolating twenty-four *ḍākinīs* each of which are united with their male partners (*ḍākas*). We should

describe it the most properly by overlapping the three *maṇḍalas* of the body, speech and mind described separately in chapter four, five and six of the *Abhidhānottarottara-tantra* which follows the *Vajraḍāka-tantra* as follows:

The *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* of sixty-two deities

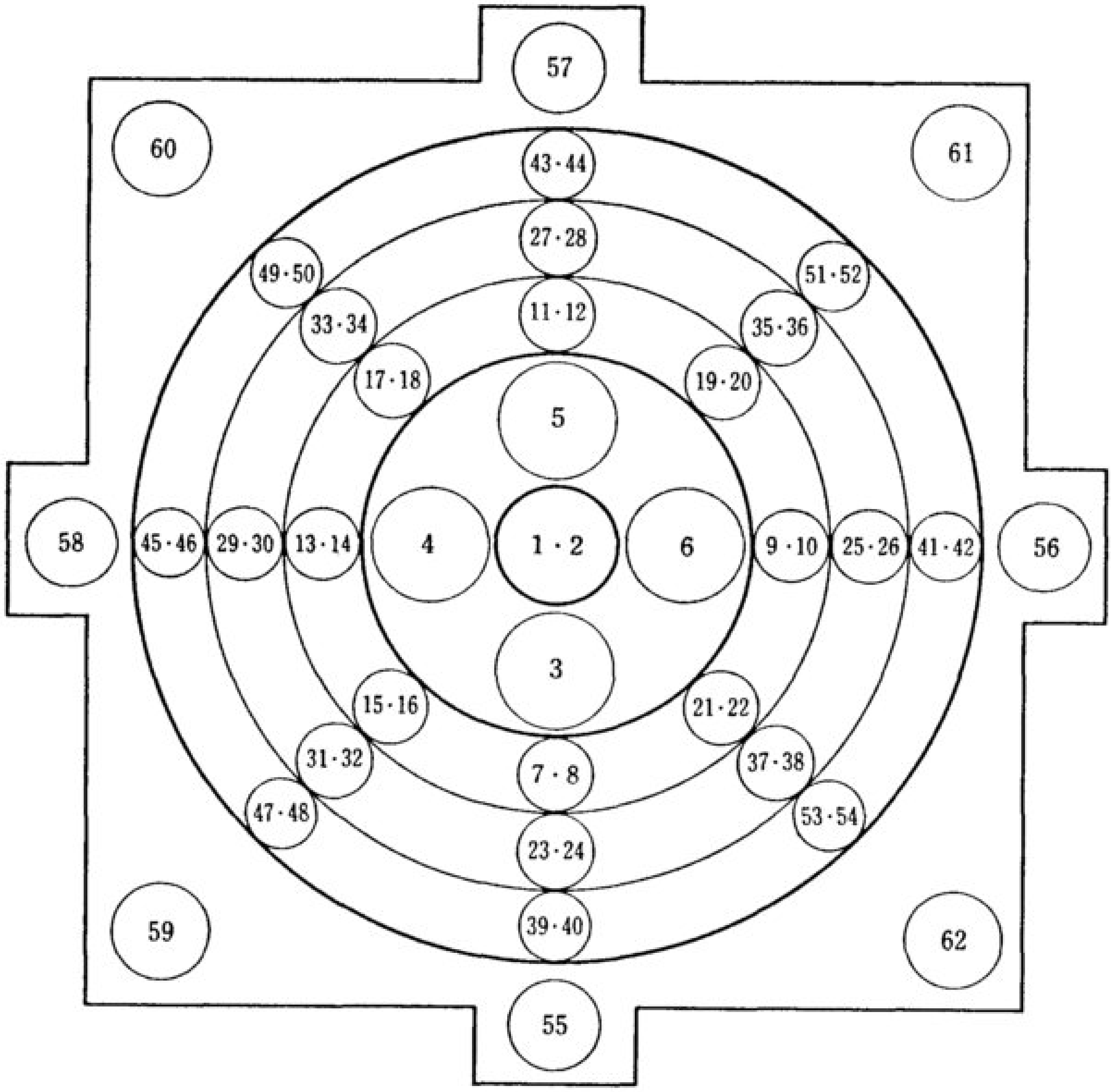


Fig. 5

These *ḍākas* or heroes (*vīra*) constituting the outer circle of the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* were originally pilgrims in the process of purifying themselves. Therefore, the outer circle composed of three layers is the region which corresponds to the outer nine layers of the *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* (fig. 1) or the outer circle (B) of fig. 2 which is the region of people who are on the process of accumulating merits.

The inner circle of the *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* was adopted by the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* (see fig. 2). The *Hevajra-tantra* adopted the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* replacing the five families of the former with five *yoginīs*. The inner circle of the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* is simply the *maṇḍala* of the *Hevajra-tantra*; and now we find that the outer

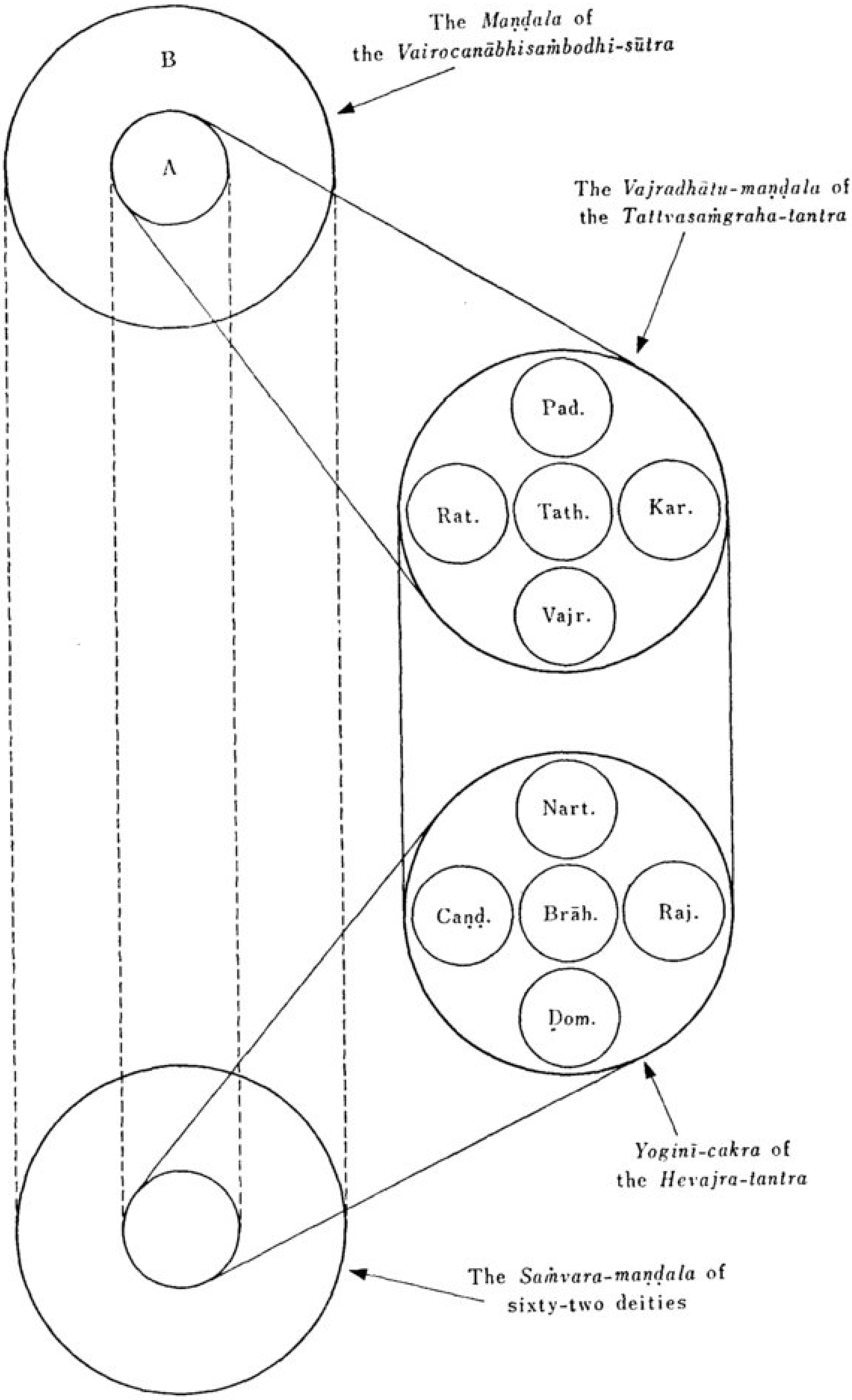


Fig. 6

circle of the *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocanābhisaṁbodhi-sūtra* which had been rejected by the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra* was restored here as the outer circle of the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* (fig. 6).

In the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala*, the inner circle is the *maṇḍala* of the religion of sitting meditators and the outer circle is the *maṇḍala* of the religion of pilgrims. The form of the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* apparently suggests that the two antithetical elements of Tantric Buddhism, *viz.* the Mahāyānic ideal of difficult deeds and the Tantric logic of the quick attainment of enlightenment were successfully synthesized in the religion of the *Saṁvara* literature. In order to judge whether this assumption is correct or not, we must examine the structure of the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* once again.

iii. The 'Critical' Character of the *Saṁvara* Tantrism

The outer circle of the *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* had not been formed before the theory of the internal *pīṭhas* was completed. The aggregate of twenty-four *ḍākinīs* united with twenty four *ḍākas* was a complete world in itself. It had ceased to be the *maṇḍala* of pilgrims when it was incorporated into the *maṇḍala* of the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra* composed of fourteen deities which was essentially the same as that of the *Hevajra-tantra* of sixteen deities. Therefore, the outer and the inner circles of *Saṁvara-maṇḍala* represent two different *maṇḍalas* of the religion of meditators which can function independently. This *maṇḍala* itself does not necessarily show that the two antithetical elements of Tantric Buddhism, *viz.* the Mahāyānic ideal of accumulating merits and the Tantric logic of *yoga* were successfully synthesized within it.

However, it has become apparent that the true problem does not exist in the fact that these two elements were synthesized. In reality, they did not have to be synthesized at all. Now it is apparent that the problem consists in the fact that the followers of the *Saṁvara* Tantrism, who were essentially Tantrists, retaining the Mahāyānic idea of the truth adopted from the fourth consecration of the *Hevajra-tantra*, rejected the Mahāyānic practice needed for realizing the Mahāyānic truth.

The idea of the fourth consecration, which teaches the Mahāyānic idea of the truth, was accepted in the *Saṁvara* Tantrism at all times. In the *Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra*, there were no methaphysical or philosophical arguments about the abstruct truth discussed. Arguments of this kind were not necessary for the followers of the *tantra* as they could unite themselves with the truth itself instantly. In the *Hevajra-tantra*, there is an independent chapter which argues about the nature of truth, *viz.* *Tattvapaṭalaḥ pañcamaḥ*. However, its contents were not the arguments about abstract, philosophical problems as we can see it from the passage we quoted above (see p. 209). In the *Saṁvara* literature, each text has an independent chapter about the nature of truth, such as chapter 29 of the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra*: *Tattvanirdeśa-paṭala*, chapter 69 of the *Abhidhānottarottara-tantra*: *Tattvapaṭala*, *kalpa* II, *prakaraṇa* i of the *Saṁpuṭodbhava-tantra*: *Nirākāṅkṣatattvopadeśabhāvanā-prakaraṇa*, the first chapter of the *Vajraḍāka-tantra*: *Paramatattvāvalokaviṣayāva-*

tārajñāna-paṭala etc. in which it attempts to express the truth itself with words.

This tendency in the *Saṁvara* literature of betraying Tantrism may be symbolically indicated with following quotations: one is from abovementioned chapter of the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra* (abbrev. SU) and the other from abovementioned *prakaraṇa* of the *Saṁpuṭodbhava-tantra*. These were referred to by Bu ston in his abovementioned work together with the quotation from the *Hevajra-tantra* we have discussed (see p. 215) as the contents of the fourth consecration. The passage from the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra* is as follows (SU. XXIX.):[55]

nīrūpaṁkṛtam ānandaḥ svayambhūr udayati asau /
tathācittatayā cittam ekaviśvāvabodhakam //10//
bhāvābhāvavivekatāvirahito yatra svayaṁ rājate /
sāndrānandamayaḥ prabodhamahimā vyomāntaravyāpakaḥ /
nānākāravisāri nirmalatayādarśasuphrad maṇḍalam /
prāyaḥ sarvasukhālayaḥ sa sahajānandaś caturthākyayā //11//
nātra prajñā na copāyaḥ samyaktattvāvabodhakaḥ /
yoginyaḥ kalpanāḥ sarvā maṇḍalaṁ bhuvanatrayam //12//

"And likewise, (this *saṁvara*, the supreme pleasure as the ultimate reality) is not the spiritual being and (at the same time) is the spirit itself. It is the complete one who awakens (10).

Here, (in the supreme pleasure, the Lord Heruka,) who is free from diffusive imaginations as to whether he exists or does not exist, shines forth of himself. He is composed of intense pleasure, great in making people awaken and spreading throughout the entire sky. He is (at the same time nothing other than) the *maṇḍala* which is making various kinds of appearances and shining like a mirror because of its stainlessness. In short, he (the Lord Heruka) is the abode of all the pleasures and is, in the fourth name, the innate joy (11).

Here, there is neither *prajñā* nor *upāya*. He makes (living beings) awaken to the right truth. All the diffusive imaginations are (nothing other than all) the *yoginīs* (situated in this *maṇḍala*). The three worlds are nothing other than the *maṇḍala* (12.)"

The quotation from the *Saṁpuṭodbhava-tantra* (SPU.II.i.) is:

svasaṁvedyaṁ bhaved jñānaṁ parasaṁvittivarjitam /
khasamaṁ virajaṁ śūnyaṁ bhāvābhāvātmakaṁ param //41//
prajñopāyasaṁbhūtaṁ rāgavirāgamiśritam /
sa eva prāṇināṁ prāṇaḥ sa eva paramākṣaraḥ //42//

(55) For this passage, see S. Tsuda, "*Tattvanirdeśa-paṭala*" of the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra*: Sanskrit Text and Japanese Translation, Bukkyo-Gaku, Vol. 1, 1976.

sarvavyрāpī sa evāsau sa eva tu śrīherukaḥ /
bhāvābhāvau tadudbhūtāv anyāni yāni tāni ca //43//

"The wisdom (which is the mind of enlightenment) is recognizable only by one's self. It it free from perception by others. It is equal to the empty sky, free from dust (of passion) and is essenceless. It is of the essence of existence and (at the same time) of non-existence (41).

It has originated from *prajñā* and *upāya* (united indivisibly). It is the mixture of desire and non-desire. It is the vital air of all living beings. It is the highest letter (*Oṁ*) (42).

It is pervading the whole (universe). It is nothing other than the auspicious Heruka. From it, (all the) existence and non-existence have originated, and (all) other things (have originated) (43)."

These truths obviously claim themselves to be placed higher than the state realized through the Tantric practice of *yoga*. Though they should have been realized through nothing other than the Mahāyānic practice of pilgrimage, still the followers of the *Saṁvara* Tantrism relinquished the practice.

In the *Hevajra-tantra*, the Tantric logic of symbolism was betrayed by the Mahāyānic idea of the truth which is to be realized through difficult deeds. The followers of the *Saṁvarodaya-tantra* in their turn took revenge on the Mahāyānic tendency replacing the practice of pilgrimage to external *pīṭhas* with the yogic practice based on the theory of the internal *pīṭhas*; but, they did it too carelessly and too hastily.

After the theory of internal *pīṭhas* was established, they substituted the yogic practice of making humours circulate within the body for the Mahāyānic practice of doing the pilgrimage along the lengthy path of the three great uncountable aeons, or at least for going on pilgrimage all over the Indian subcontinent, though pilgrimage itself was already a deed symbolizing the former. The pilgrim, who being urged by the fourth consecration of the *Hevajra-tantra* had once started on a pilgrimage, resigned his pilgrimage too easily and returned to the state of a *yogin* sitting without any relation to the outer world. When he resigned pilgrimage, he had not settled the pending question set by the *Hevajra-tantra*. They should not have attempted to solve this question through the Tantric logic; they should not have made the practice of pilgrimage internal. In doing so, however, they crushed the Mahāyānic practice which was needed to realize the truth shown in the fourth consecration.

Here, we find that a new aspect of the 'critical' or precarious character of Tantric Buddhism presents itself in the *Saṁvara* Tantrism. The followers of *Saṁvara* Tantrism were entertaining the Mahāyānic idea of truth, which is to be realized only through the Mahāyānic practice of accumulating merits over the unimaginably long period of the three great uncountable aeons; still

they engaged in the Tantric practice which is not valid for realizing the Mahāyānic idea of the truth expressed in such maxims as were quoted above.

The 'crisis' of the *Saṁvara* Tantrism lies in the fact that the Mahāyānic ideal makes the Tantric logic of *yoga* and the Tantric practices based on it only metaphorical or conventional; and the Tantric practice in turn makes the Mahāyānic ideal end only in an empty talk.

The 'crisis' innate within the *Saṁvara* Tantrism shuold have been condensed to its critical point of explosion and developed thereby a new, revolutionary system of Tantric Buddhism. I have no way to determine whether it occured at all or how it occured as my knowledge about Tantrism does not go any further. Therefore, I can only surmize that the general decline of Buddhism at the time indicates that the critical point of explosion was never reached. It would seem that there were no new system developed within the Tantric Buddhism of India which surpassed the Buddhism of *śmaśāna, viz.* the *Hevajra-tantra* and the subsequent *tantras* of the *Saṁvara* literature in their vitality.

(56) Forthis passage, see S. Tsuda, The Rite of Consecration in the *Saṁpuṭodbhava-tantra, Studies in Buddhist Thought* abovementioned (Note 45).

sarvavypāpī sa evāsau sa eva tu śrīherukaḥ /
bhāvābhāvau tadudbhūtāv anyāni yāni tāni ca //43//

"The wisdom (which is the mind of enlightenment) is recognizable only by one's self. It it free from perception by others. It is equal to the empty sky, free from dust (of passion) and is essenceless. It is of the essence of existence and (at the same time) of non-existence (41).

It has originated from *prajñā* and *upāya* (united indivisibly). It is the mixture of desire and non-desire. It is the vital air of all living beings. It is the highest letter (*Oṁ*) (42).

It is pervading the whole (universe). It is nothing other than the auspicious Heruka. From it, (all the) existence and non-existence have originated, and (all) other things (have originated) (43)."

These truths obviously claim themselves to be placed higher than the state realized through the Tantric practice of *yoga*. Though they should have been realized through nothing other than the Mahāyānic practice of pilgrimage, still the followers of the *Saṁvara* Tantrism relinquished the practice.

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(56) Forthis passage, see S. Tsuda, The Rite of Consecration in the *Saṁpuṭodbhava-tantra*, *Studies in Buddhist Thought* abovementioned (Note 45).